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J. M. W. Turner in 1800.
by George Dance, R.A.

TURNER

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TURNER

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION TO TURNER'S LIFE AND WORK

The strong attraction of personality—Ruskin Turner's chief expositor—The danger to the student of being carried away by his charm of style—Turner's desire to be a public teacher through the medium of Art—This idea illustrated by the frontispiece to the *Liber Studiorum*. The meaning of the little central picture—The explanation of its margin.

THE interest that always attaches to a dominating figure in the world of Art surrounds the life and work of Turner. His name, like the names of Shelley, Byron, Wordsworth, and Charlotte Brontë—to quote only a few from the numbers of the modern great—has the attraction of a direct appeal.

None of these, not even the poets, are in the very foremost rank in their art: their names are not yet unchallenged as are those of the mighty in the classic and mediæval annals. They have not the might of Homer, or Plato, or of the great triad of the Greek tragic writers in the one,

nor of Shakespeare, of Dante, of Raphael, in the other; for though they have clearly passed the test of Time, they are still too near to us for the volume of their light to be accurately determined. Yet being no more accredited by Time than a host of others who have won renown in the modern world, still, by reason of some distinctiveness of personality, or by something special in their environment, they stand out more directly as visible objects. The romantic strain of Byron's life has stamped itself upon his work; Shelley, like a beautiful spirit of unrest, moves through the impassioned music of his verse; the figure of the recluse of the great Lake country comes into view when we mention Wordsworth; the vision of Charlotte Brontë on her lonely moors flits before us when we open her books; and the figure of Turner, eccentric, morose, indefatigable, enters our mind when we survey the works of his hands.

Hence the perennial attractiveness of these controlling personalities as a theme for discourse, and hence, too, the untiring readiness of the listener to hear the fresh account. Every new exposition of the life and work of those whom I have named has, in every instance in which it has itself been instinct with life, found an interested public awaiting it. The lives of Turner alone, with all the writing—critical, explanatory, or other—

which has gathered about his name, already make a well-defined section of modern literature.

Yet every new delineator thinks that he has found a point of view that did not come into his predecessor's account; with all his admiration and respect for accredited histories, he has still the belief that he, with perhaps some fresh data, could give yet another explanation of the painter's peculiarities, and, with close and earnest study of the pictures, a fresh and independent impression of their claims and their meaning.

Of all those who have been widely acknowledged as expounders of the beauty and the importance of Turner's works, Ruskin is admittedly the chief. No other writer has so exhaustively treated the subject, has so laboriously gone over the ground with his eyes upon every step of the way. He is so possessed with his subject, he writes at such a white heat of admiration for the painter's achievements, that the reader is, as it were, insensibly led to look at Turner with Ruskin's eyes. For although the great teacher brings all his erudition, all his insight, as well as his great love, to bear upon his interpretation of individual subjects, yet in his treatment of the whole range of Turner's work we have to think of his power of idealisation. He sees Turner, at all times, through his own poetic gaze; and the student, enveloped by the charm of the description, has to be on his

guard against allowing this medium to affect his own independence of judgment.

Beside the exhaustiveness of Ruskin's treatment of Turner and his works, all other accounts must seem less fervid in expression and more circumscribed in scope. For although the Rev. Stopford Brooke, as a disciple of the great master of language, in his notes on the *Liber Studiorum*, writes under the influence of the same close sympathy with his subject, there is not, as a rule, in the case of Turner's other historians, the same personal nearness to affect the view. But although the standpoint may be different, it cannot be held to affect the value of the result. For everyone who takes Turner for his subject, and brings to the matter either sympathetic insight or critical experience, or both, or even eyes to see, may thereby help to a wider understanding of his genius.

Turner is a subject to which indeed the saying "In the multitude of counsellors there is wisdom" may well apply. What one may, in a work so vast and so varied as his, overlook, another may bring to light. Something explanatory of the man himself may be revealed to the devoted seeker. For, speaking broadly, his life is expressed in his works. There we find his possessing industry, his enduring patience, his rugged strength, as well as his extreme delicacy, his love of nature, his human feeling, and many another related

thing besides. Everything about the production of the pictures, the circumstances of the painter, and how they affected him at the time of such production, is of help in getting at his mental standpoint. That we realise him so constantly, his persistence, his peculiarities, in relation to his works, is a proof that he lived through them.

That the one central aim of his life was to be a great public teacher through the medium of Art, we are assured not alone by the testimony of some of his ablest critics, but by his own admission.

As the purpose of these compressed pages is to reveal the man, and this view of him, through a consideration of his great productions, there can be no fitter illustration for the opening of the attempt than the frontispiece to the *Liber Studiorum*, a masterpiece, to speak of the complete set of drawings as a whole, which he himself regarded as one of the most enduring of his works, and in which his assumption of teacher is most directly expressed.

Incidentally this frontispiece illustrates the many lines of his own art in which Turner was a master, for the exquisite little central picture was drawn, etched, and engraved by his own hand. The processes of its production bear witness to the painter's wonderful delicacy of touch that could, within so small a compass, give line and curve and faintest shadow with perfect clearness. The

central picture, its framework and the wide marginal border that surrounds it, are all symbolic of the painter's intention in the *Book of Studies.* Perhaps the centre picture may be said to have more of the inner symbolism than has that of the outer margin. This, at least, is the teaching of Ruskin with regard to its meaning, and in agreement with his interpretation is that of the Rev. Stopford Brooke. Both writers find that he here indicates the decay and the humiliation that overtake the productions of human pride—that he thus symbolises the decay of Europe by this picture of the great sea-empire at sunset. For the illustration represents Tyre at the height of her glory, and Europa, as the type of her beauty and her charm, departing from her—borne away, as the Greek records relate, by Jupiter, and borne, too, upon the waves of the sea. In the choice of such a subject as the keynote to the whole intention of the work, it seems clear that the artist must have intended to bear witness to the alternate rise and fall of human history. But does he mean no more than this? May he not by this picture desire to illustrate the glory and the power of the sea itself, and how it leads to all, and links all the lands of the world? About the outer symbolism of the margin there is no difficulty at all. It is clearly the painter's intention to show the scope of the Empire of Painting, and how it takes in all

FRONTISPIECE, LIBER STUDIORUM

objects in both Life and Nature. The oars point to man's dominion of the waters; the scroll with the engraver's names to the combination of forces in his work; moulding and sculptured stonework to the glory of the buildings his hands have made; while the white peacock in the centre may be taken as an emblem of the pride and beauty of the world, and perhaps also, as it is there as a symbol, of the province of the imagination in the art of painting. Yet to the lover of beauty the chief interest will lie in the exquisite effect of the environed picture itself, for so opalescent is it, so bathed in light, that, although only produced in sepia, it has all the effect of vivid colouring. The glow of effulgent warmth, the richness of the East seem to rise to meet the eyes of the gazer in this little piece of perfect art.

CHAPTER II

TURNER'S CHILDHOOD, SCHOOL-LIFE, AND FIRST DRAWINGS

Turner's parents and his devotion to his father—Hand's Court, Maiden Lane, Turner's birthplace—Ruskin's description of it—Turner's affection for his early home—His schooldays at Brentford and first drawings there—Folly Bridge first water-colour—The influence of adjacent localities—School at Margate—Student of the Royal Academy, first drawing there of Lambeth Palace—First drawing of Kirkstall Abbey—Tintern Abbey, early water-colour—First portrait of himself, now in Ruskin Museum.

THERE is nothing to prove that Turner's immediate ancestors were in the least endowed with artistic tastes. In his walk of life such indications would be more likely to be noted and preserved, if only by oral tradition, than in cultivated circles, where they would be regarded as too much in the natural order of things to call for comment.

There is no hint, in any existent records, that his mother's trying peculiarities of temper and subsequent madness had any relation to abnormal brain-power. Although it is possible to surmise,

as Hamerton would appear to suggest from his consideration of the parallel case of Lord Byron's mother, that madness in the mother might have been transformed to genius in the son. It certainly seems reasonable to conclude that Turner's eccentricities of behaviour, living, etc., were a resultant of his mother's mental aberration. It would appear from all that can be gathered of the matter, that the good things of Turner's childhood in the way of kindness, care, and example, came from the paternal side. And the great painter, who was by nature adhesive, would seem from the care with which he provided for his comfort, and the close companionship which he gave him to the end of his days, to have been at all times warmly attached to his father.

The date of Turner's birth, like the dates of some others who have achieved greatness—and in this connection his gifted companion, Girtin, may be mentioned—is somewhat uncertain, but the year is always given as 1775, and the month as, supposedly, April. May the 14th is also given as the date of his baptism at St. Paul's.

According to the memoir of Peter Cunningham, written in 1852, the year after Turner's death, the house over the barber's shop, in which the great painter was born, was then still standing. It is described as 26, Maiden Lane, at the corner of Hand's Court, Covent Garden.

The locality may be surmised to have been somewhat fashionable at the time of Turner's birth, from the fact that it was deferentially alluded to as "The Gardens." The fashionable part was probably at some little distance from the bustle of the Market and the shops of the Lane: unless, indeed, they had the reflected distinction of places at which the fashionable people of the neighbourhood made purchases. It is certain that they patronised the little barber at No. 26, either by going to his shop for his ministrations, or by summoning his services to their houses. For, in accordance with the authority just quoted, it was upon one of the latter occasions that the small genius accompanied his father, and made his first drawing from a coat-of-arms upon a table; and that the father after this, when jocularly asked by his customers what the boy was going to be, would reply with pride, "William is going to be a painter."

Although the throngs of busy people who now frequent Covent Garden and Maiden Lane never possibly give the matter a thought, lovers of Turner still like to think of it as a neighbourhood permeated with memories of his early days. For here he received his first impressions of life, first made sketches of the things around him, first unconsciously began to get form and colour into his mind, and, in some undefined way, to feel within

him the power of great achievements. And although his lovers will look in vain for even a simple tablet to notify to the passer-by that here someone who helped largely to the glory of England's name in art first began existence, yet to this spirit of reverence for the early footsteps of genius they owe Ruskin's affectionate study of Turner's birthplace and the abode of his childhood.

The student of the present, for whom no trace remains, may well be grateful to the great teacher for his exact description as he saw it in 1860, then some years after Turner's death. With the *Modern Painters* for our guide, we can, in fancy, walk to the far end of Maiden Lane, can pass through the low, dark archway and the iron gate, and stand before the square window, looking into Covent Garden, of the small shop where his father, the barber and hairdresser, carried on his business. And when his understanding began to quicken it was, no doubt, in the shop itself that it was somehow borne in upon Turner's consciousness that to make money by the work of your hands was one of the chief duties of life—it was, at least, a principle to which he closely adhered to the end of his days.

We may pause to think how many thousand times the boy's feet must have trodden that pavement, hurrying on to his great world—the river.

Or we stroll up and down, and imagine ourselves looking in at the other shops and wondering about their contents, and chiefly are we interested in the friendly oystermonger, his father's friend, whom, when he had become the rich and famous painter, he still delighted to visit; for to the last, as far as his domestic life was concerned, Turner clung to the class to which he himself originally belonged.

Although the Covent Garden of Turner's days may have been less crowded, less glaring, than now, it is hardly possible to think of it without its masses of refuse, its dirt and clamour; or, even with the colours of its fruits, and with the sunbeams of summer and autumn touching the roofs and spires that encircle it, as holding the sources of inspiration, but for the thought that genius being lighted from within does in itself illumine the things without. And this being so, it is possible to feel a little surprise at the emotional note in Ruskin's view of their inadequacy—". . . the best, however, it seems, that England was able to provide for a boy of gift." And in his comparison of Turner with Giorgione he dwells insistently upon the fact that the surroundings of the latter were so much more inspiring, more varied, more liberal than were those of the former. Yet one might say of Giorgione that his birthright of beauty came to him because he belonged to Italy,

and not to any special provision of Fortune in his favour.

Yet apart from the mere accident of birth which brought him to a small and homely condition of life and its accompanying coarsenesses, there was nothing particularly hard in Turner's circumstance in his boyhood. He had not, as genius has so often had, to fight against family opposition to his choice; for when his father, who, it may be supposed, looked at the question from the profit and loss point of view, found that the pursuance of art, in his son's case, meant making a little money in the present, with the prospect of more in the future, he, to the best of his ability, aided and abetted his son's ambitions.

More instructive, as a clue to certain striking peculiarities of Turner's work, is Ruskin's observance of the force of the great painter's love of his early surroundings—". . . loves them, never indeed forgets them. The short waists modify to the last his visions of Greek ideal. His foregrounds have always a succulent cluster or two of greengrocery in the corner. Enchanted oranges gleam in Covent Gardens of the Hesperides, and great ships go to pieces to scatter chests of them on the waves. That mist of early sunbeams of the London dawn crosses many and many a time the clearness of Italian air." The student of Turner's pictures might do well to bear in mind

this point of view of a controlling influence of the great painter in estimating the characteristics of his representation of classic things.

Although as Hamerton, commenting upon the dearth of biographical matter in Turner's case, remarks: "La plupart des personnes qui ont connu le grand peintre sont morts, et chaque année augmente la difficulté de recuiller quelque chose de nouveau de lui," still it is possible from such memoranda as we possess to get an adequate idea of the manner of Turner's childhood. He began, it would seem, almost as soon as he could handle a pencil, to draw the things around him—fruit and vegetables in the market, the people in the streets, and, above all, the Thames and its traffic. For, even in his restricted early days, Maiden Lane, and the delights of Covent Garden, are not his whole world. His great outer world is the river, where, from London Bridge, he can watch the ships that come and go to all quarters of the earth. There he made studies of mast and sail and cordage, and other things that pertain to seafaring life. For if his home neighbourhood earliest awoke sentiment in his heart, the Thames, we may be sure, first gave his imagination wings. Here he was in Wonderland—the Wonderland that each fresh revelation of the unknown world makes for the imaginative child. This river, then, that winds itself through the pageantry of London's

historic life, should be an enchanted stream for lovers of Turner's genius. For here we can hardly doubt those wonderful sea-pictures of his first indefinitely formed themselves in his mind in those early days.

It is not difficult to form a picture of the boy at this time: an interesting and vivid little lad, to assume from the portrait of himself, painted when he was seventeen, when his mind had grown, and he felt the glory of Art luring him on to effort. We can fancy him eager to be about watching the procession of life in the streets. There is not, it may be assumed, much inducement to stay in the dark little rooms behind the shop, where it is possible that he has to be very much on his guard against the vagaries of the maternal temper; though he may linger in the shop to gain scraps of information about the great world, from his father's patrons and customers, who would themselves be encouraged by the shrewd and affectionate father to take an interest in his clever son.

The life in the streets, and the river, made up the sum of the material of his impressions in those days of childhood. Religion apparently made no appeal to him, for nowhere do we find its inspiring influence in his work. On the human side it had no softness, warmth, as far as he knew from observation of its processes, to draw him to its fold; and on the side of Art it had no spell of

beauty. His only two connections with the Church were those in which he had no volition—his baptism and his burial.

Turner's schooldays at Brentford, to which place he had been sent, when ten years old, for the sake of his health, by his father, made the next stage in his life after that of Maiden Lane. At Brentford he was under the care of an aunt, and this probably meant for him a large modification of former domestic discomfort. He would seem to have developed a strong liking for the place and for the adjacent country, for thither he frequently returned in after years. It was here, while still at school, that he began proudly to earn his first money by the practice of art, for we find him colouring engravings, at fourpence each, for the foreman of the Brentford Distillery. And as the next step to success his drawings, copies probably of engravings, are shortly afterwards being sold in his father's shop at the price each of one shilling.

It must have been at this time that he produced his earliest preserved drawing, that of "Folly Bridge," now in the water-colour rooms of the National Gallery, as it bears the date 1787, when he could only have been about twelve years old. "Folly Bridge" already shows great firmness of handling in the drawing of the bridge and adjacent buildings, and with ideas of expanse in the sky. It is

FOLLY BRIDGE

a pencil outline, shaded with grey and touched with local colour, but, as the trees and stones show, cold and thin in tint, according to the creed of the time; yet, cold and subdued as they are, interesting as the first almost silent notes in that scale of colour culminating at last in the glories of the great Venetian pictures.

There can be no doubt that these early successes gave an impetus to the boy's endeavours; and there are few indeed who have fought their way to Fame who have found their devotion to Art so quickly remunerative. His school life at Brentford gave him opportunities for long rambles amidst the then rural surroundings of Putney, Twickenham, and Hampton; and these rambles afforded him his first delightful glimpses of lordly mansion and shady grove: perhaps the more delightful to him, since, through the medium of translations, his mind had been touched with the beauty of classic times. His peculiar retentiveness of everything relating to his early life may have been the reason why, in some of his finest work, he has introduced English scenery and English sentiment into classical subject. The carved pillars and wrought stone-work of these lordly halls, the shady groves, the smooth lawns and terraces, the white swans, and the ornamental water, may have so commingled in his mind with the tales of ancient Greece that to the

mental picture he gave the actual surroundings —memory cemented them, and they seemed ever after inseparable.

Life widened still further for Turner when, at the age of fourteen, he was sent for a year to school at Margate; and here first began his enduring love of the sea and the sea-coast—a love after expressed in his Harbours of England, his Southern Coast Scenery, and in many a sea-fronted picture. It was at Margate, too, that, later on, other experiences came to him that left their indelible traces on his life; and, in his strange, silent, and almost incoherent way, Margate became a shrine to which he made many pilgrimages in the after days of his life.

In another year we find him going to Thomas Malton for architectural drawing, and later on to T. Harwicke for further instruction in the principles of perspective; and the last-named teacher, being impressed by the boy's unusual ability, induced his father to let him enter the Royal Academy schools. He became an exhibitor when he was fifteen, his first subject on the Academy walls being a drawing of Lambeth Palace. This drawing is mentioned, in the description of the Turner Collection at the Royal Academy in 1887, as having been lent by its owner, Mrs. Courtland, for the purposes of exhibition.

"The Crypt of Kirkstall Abbey," a pencil out-

TINTERN ABBEY

line now in the National Gallery, was one of the first of a long list of architectural subjects commenced somewhere about his eighteenth year. It was afterwards reproduced with variations both in the Rivers of England Series and in the *Liber Studiorum*. Apart from the beauty of these studies, Kirkstall is interesting to us from the fact told to us by Ruskin, that this was the ruin that made such an impression upon the painter's mind that it turned him from the study of cathedrals to Nature herself.

"Tintern Abbey," drawn when he was eighteen, gave him fine opportunities for the springing grace of Gothic pillar and curve. It is notable for the impression it gives of the massiveness of the masonry, the majesty of sequent arches, and the fineness of the tracery around the stone-work of the windows. Every detail is given with scrupulous care, yet the sense of the whole subject comes to us in its broad expressiveness of light and shade. It is in the South Kensington Water-colour Collection, and is a good instance of Turner's early use of colour by which the tints are laid on in thin washes.

Of a slightly earlier date is his portrait painted by himself, now in the Ruskin Museum. It is described by Ruskin as having been bequeathed to him by Mrs. Danby, Turner's housekeeper in Queen Anne Street, to whom the artist had given

it many years before. It is in brown monochrome, and represents an oval face, with the hair falling in masses down each side, and low upon the forehead. There is an expression of earnestness and trustfulness in the eyes, and the mouth bespeaks both sensuousness and sensibility. The arms are lightly folded in an attitude of meditation, and all the details of the dress, to the unstudied ease of the white neckcloth, are given with the greatest care. This is probably how he saw himself in his own mind.

CHAPTER III

TURNER AND GIRTIN: THEIR FIRST ENGAGEMENTS

Expansion of Turner's life—Work at Dr. Munro's house—Turner and Girtin—Their differences of temperament—Turner's admiration for Girtin's genius—Contradictions of Turner's nature—Influence of Girtin on Turner's work—Turner's first engagement on the *Copperplate Magazine*—His first experience of the country and its influence—Ruskin's comparison of Turner and Giorgione—Architectural studies of this time; their influence on his after work—Employed colouring backgrounds for architects—"An Interior": picture of kitchen in his own home—First visit to France: its influence on his colouring—Turner's growing strength—First turns to poetry for inspiration.

IF the circumstances of Turner's boyhood and youth had made for the opening of the ways to his ambition, his early manhood continued the record in even more generous fashion.

He was one of that fortunate band of young artists who had the privilege of copying the valuable drawings by both British and foreign artists at the house of Dr. Munro, of the Adelphi Terrace. This informal school gave him opportunities of meeting some of the English painters who had already become famous; it also aroused

in him that spirit of emulation which usually springs up in the breast of ardent youth when brought in contact with the admitted masters of its own chosen walk. Here, too, he worked side by side with Girtin, that bright and adventurous spirit who seemed to absorb beauty as though it were air, and with whose name the notable advance of water-colour from the restricted methods of the earliest school is so indelibly associated.

It is evident from all that is related of the two in the different histories of their lives, and from Turner's own admissions, that he quickly recognised the evidences of Girtin's genius, and that, in the earliest years of their struggles together, he believed it to be easily possible that his own gifts might be eclipsed by those of his richly endowed fellow-student. Here, then, was another powerful incentive to perseverance.

Although the engagement of Turner and Girtin together at the house of Dr. Munro was the result of accident, they were already known to each other by their meetings at the art shop of John Raphael Smith, by whom they were both employed to colour prints. Smith was himself both an art worker and an art enthusiast, and his shop in King Street, Covent Garden, was, on account of the beauty and the variety of the prints and drawings it contained, a well-known centre of attraction to the wealthy and cultivated con-

noisseurs and collectors of the day, amongst whom Dr. Munro was one of the most esteemed. It was upon one of his frequent calls that he alighted upon Turner and Girtin, they being brought to his notice by their kindly employer; for he was noted for taking a good-natured interest in the youthful talent that his work led him to discover.

To both of these men who, each in his separate way, did so much to forward the art movement of the time, and with whose names are pleasantly associated the names of many famous artists, did Turner owe at least some of his after advancement.

Both at the Adelphi Terrace and at his house at Bushey Dr. Munro assisted and encouraged young artists by placing his rich portfolios before them, and by giving them the material help of payment.

Turner is related to have said, when talking to David Roberts, the Royal Academician, of these early days, "that many and many a time had he and Girtin walked over in the evening to Bushey, to copy Dr. Munro's valuable prints, and to get half-a-crown each for their work, and their supper besides."

These expeditions would probably be made in the summer time, but both there and in the pleasant locality of the Adelphi, then, as one may suppose, with more open spaces breaking on to the river than now, it is easy to imagine how full the

air must have been of anticipation to the students who so eagerly sought these abodes of Art. As with the wind blowing freshly from the river, or with glimpses of water and shore giving suggestions for future work, what exultant thoughts would arise as to their own hopes of achievement! Or perhaps the talk would turn upon the possibilities of water-colour, for at the house to which their footsteps were bent men distinguished in its practice were wont to congregate: Paul Sandby, Hearne, De Wint, Cozens! What a world of interest is opened up by the mere names of those who formed these gatherings! And how around the one central aim, what individualities of temperament, of theory, of experience, must have found expression!

Reticent as he was both by nature and by habit, Turner not infrequently reverted to this time of his life, and spoke of the encouragement he had received from the generous Dr. Munro. Though it does not appear that when he became famous he ever sought the society of this one of his earliest patrons; not the earliest, for the first was Mr. Tomkinson, a pianoforte maker, whose hair Turner's father used to dress, and who, upon his visits to the shop in Maiden Lane, used to admire and purchase the drawings that best pleased his fancy as he saw them exposed for sale in the shop window. Dr. Munro may have been quite as

responsible as Turner for the withdrawal from each other's society; for he would seem from the first to have taken a far warmer and more personal interest in Girtin than in Turner; but that may have been because the former had, at that time, the brighter genius, and an open and engaging manner, while the latter, slower of growth, was taciturn and morose. He may, too, have allowed his business view of the relations between his helper and himself to have become too obvious to produce pleasantness of impression.

It is perhaps also due to this difference of temperament that there is nowhere to be found proof of any real comradeship between Turner and Girtin—that is, no bond of heart—the tie between them would seem to have been the more artificial one of corresponding circumstance and similarity of employment. That Turner had a very great, though secret, admiration for his fellow-student is evident from his remark, "better than any of mine," made when looking, after Girtin's death, at his painting of the Whitehouse, Chelsea. And Hamerton, in his *Life of Turner*, relates that upon one occasion the then famous painter said "that both his means and his reputation would have been less had Girtin lived."

It is characteristic of the enduringness of all Turner's recollections of his early life that to the end of his days he always spoke regretfully

of Girtin as "poor Tom." It is also characteristic of the struggle between the two sides of Turner's nature that although his admiration—and in a certain sense, affection—for the memory of a gifted companion prompted him, years after his death, to propose to erect a tombstone to his memory in St. Paul's churchyard, that when he found the sum required would amount to so many shillings over that which he had been prepared to spend, that he allowed these extra shillings to vibrate so long in his mind that they turned the scale against his more generous promptings, and his proposed tribute never took practical shape.

It is hardly possible to write descriptively of Turner at this time without thinking of Girtin; he seems, therefore, fitly to find a place in this part of the narrative.

That Turner, quite up to the time of his admission to the Royal Academy, owed much mentally to Girtin is evident from the fact that from the beginning of his career he set himself to learn from every available example; and Girtin had, even in those early days, got so closely in touch with Nature that he could reproduce her without recourse to the method or manner of any other artist. In this respect he resembled Shelley, in the brightness and swiftness of his apprehensions —seeing at once the whole vista, where others, so to speak, had to part the branches to find the

way. He had also, like the divinely-gifted poet, that fever of work upon him as though he knew instinctively that time pressed. Something, too, he had of Shelley's power of seizing Nature's mood and making it his own. Thus to Turner, who was slowly, though surely and powerfully, laying the foundations of his future greatness, he was unconsciously a master. Girtin, too, was always open with his knowledge. His experiments in water-colour were all free to Turner to absorb. He could watch Girtin's practices, and then work them out with, as it might be, larger results for himself.

In thinking of these things it were ungenerous for Turner's admirers to overlook the notable share that Girtin had in helping to form the great painter, who, in the ample time allotted to him, developed a power, a richness, a variety, to which Girtin, in the brief space of his working life, could not attain.

Later writers have softened down or have endeavoured to explain away Turner's apparent indifference to Girtin's memory, but it has to be considered that the statement was made shortly after Turner's death, when incidents were fresher in the mind than they would be at a later period, and that its author was not only a great and enthusiastic admirer of Turner, but one intimately acquainted with his ways. But, as he expresses

it in his Memoir, "we have to take this extraordinary man as a whole—his foibles along with his greatness—to get a complete view of him." To this may also be added that we have to consider life's dealing with him to find an explanation of the apparently marked contrast between his actions and his art work.

Both Turner and Girtin made their first sketches from the banks of the Thames, then broken and picturesque, and affording glimpses of the outlying country. Specimens of these drawings are now to be found in the British Museum, National Gallery, and other public homes of art, and many still in private collections. Both in Roget's interesting and exhaustive history, and in Cosmo Monkhouse's delightful short description of the earlier water-colour painters, there are allusions to these excursions, and in one a touching word-picture of Girtin as he appeared at the time.

These out-of-door drawings were made for love, with perhaps the hope attached that they might one day lead to fame and fortune, but the real business of their lives in these days, that by which they earned their daily bread, was colouring prints for architects—remunerative, but not very inspiring work, yet, like all, at least, of Turner's experiences, leading on to better things. This larger outlook, in the artistic sense, came when, at eighteen, he was engaged to make drawings

for the illustration of the *Copperplate Magazine*. These first journeyings took him both to the south-east coast and to Yorkshire, and to these parts of England he continually returned—to Yorkshire chiefly for the sake of Mr. Fawkes, of Farnley Hall, who became his friend, his patron, and his devoted admirer; and to the south coast for the sake of earlier loves and attractions. Girtin, too, was engaged by the *Copperplate Magazine* at the same time and for the same purpose, but they did not on this occasion go together, although they made drawings of the same places.

This is the time of his taking "the great air of the country." Of this earliest visit to Yorkshire, no one who has read Ruskin's description of Turner's first feelings on realising that he has at last reached the true country will ask for any other. "At last Fortune wills that the lad's true life shall begin, and one summer's evening, after various stage-coach adventures on the north road, which gave him a love of stage-coaches ever after, he finds himself sitting alone among the Yorkshire hills. For the first time the silence of Nature round him, her freedom sealed to him, her glory opened to him. Peace at last; no roll of cart-wheels, nor mutter of sullen voices in the back shop; but curlew cry in space of heaven, and welling of bell-toned streamlet. . . . Here is some-

thing which He has made that man has not marred. Pride of purple rocks . . . and misty light of evening on innumerable hills."

These are phrases of a whole, from the description in *Modern Painters*, which when read sound like a pæan of exultation! As in this description, so in that of the effect of religion on Giorgione—the relation soars into poetry. It is in this connection that he contrasts the difference of effect produced by old buildings on Giorgione and on Turner. There is, indeed, a deep significance in his finding that as the Italian saw that they were renewed in beauty by the work of man's hands, so he found in them the idea of man's strength and his immortality. But to the Englishman who saw them in decay, the effect produced was that of man's weakness and his limitations. From the magnificent old buildings of Venice, Giorgione educed the calmness of power and the fire of life. Turner in the "narrow-garretted houses of Maiden Lane, of London, had seen only the meanness, the shiftiness, the ugliness of man's work," and when he chanced upon the ruins of cathedrals, he was convinced only of man's "labour to no end." Striking is the difference of conclusion. "As the strength of man to Giorgione, to Turner his weakness and his vileness. . . . In the Venetian's eyes all beauty depended upon man's presence and his pride. In Turner's on the solitude he had left

and the humiliation he had endured." In deep-thoughted parallels like this, when insight is born of emotion, Ruskin seems to be so much more the great teacher than when he is defining the meaning of every line, and stroke, and object, and relations of objects to each other, in Turner's pictures, as though endeavouring to find reasons for his own conclusions.

It was, he informs us, the ruin of the once noble building of Kirkstall Abbey, on the Aire, that first led Turner from the study of architecture to that of Nature. We may, however, think it reasonable enough to suppose that his desire for the representation of Nature was due as much to a sense of the widening of his powers as to the effect upon his mind made by such an evidence of decay.

It is at least certain that he devoted himself very thoroughly to architectural subjects, even though he made many studies of pure landscape; for it was about this time that he made the drawing of the north-west view of Malmesbury Abbey, strongly handled and broad in touch, with careful attention to detail. To this period also belong his two studies of the Avon, considered good specimens of landscape style at this his season of cold, correct, and rather heavy colouring. These studies are to be found in the South Kensington Collection. It was upon this first tour that he

drew Rochester on the Medway, and although, like Kirkstall, afterwards reproduced in the Rivers of England Series, it comes in place here from the interesting fact that it was Turner's first engraved drawing, as it appeared at the time amongst the *Copperplate* illustrations. It shows some fine grouping of the boats in the centre against the nearer buildings, and with an almost unembellished background.

But as a proof that Turner was still devoted to architecture, we have, at a still later period, besides many another, the beautiful "Lady Chapel, Salisbury Cathedral," now in the possession of Mr. Watson Fothergill, with its sweep of shadow, beginning almost at the roof and broadening towards the floor, opposed to the soft flood of light showing all the delicate tracery of the stone-work on the left. This, too, is the period of the two other fine studies of the same cathedral, now amongst the South Kensington water-colours.

Then we have the interior of the Savoy Chapel, described in the National Gallery Catalogue as a study in light and shade, anterior to the Salisbury drawings, but still coming after the strong impression made by the ruin of Kirkstall Abbey. He, however, frequently made use of this subject, for the sake, it may be supposed, of its pictorial elements.

Indeed, architectural drawings and interiors seem to have filled up much of Turner's time, until at last he was made an Associate of the Academy. It was shortly before his admission that he made the drawing of Bath Abbey, West Front, a stately subject, painted, but for the light of the sky, in a sombre key; his "Holy Island Cathedral," drawn, according to the given date, 1798; and after this came the beautiful "Ely Cathedral," which some of his critics consider the very highest expression of his pencil amongst architectural subjects.

Nor must it be forgotten that it was by this close and constant study of architecture that he gained that profound knowledge of perspective that laid the foundation of his future greatness — that meant that exquisite harmony, balance, and adjustment of line and curve which even amid the wildest freaks of colour of his later years still gave to his pictures the stamp of great art.

Through a good portion of this time he was still colouring backgrounds of architectural subjects for a living, and making money as well by teaching the art of water-colour in schools and private families; and even then showing his keen business perceptions, by raising his fees from five to ten shillings, as the demand for his services increased. He also added to his income by making drawings for the Oxford almanacs.

The drawing in the National Gallery, called "An Interior, probably belonging to this time, has an interest from the fact that it is supposed to be none other than the kitchen or cellar of his father's shop in Maiden Lane, and that the graphic study of the figure sitting by the copper is supposed to be his mother. The drawing is a good instance also of Turner's mastery of detail, especially in the stoneware jar and little blue jug.

It is a little difficult from the many accounts of his wanderings to follow Turner at this time, but the reader could not have a better guide than Mr. Cosmo Monkhouse in his Great Artist Series. It will suffice to say, then, when twenty, he was sent, still for the purposes of illustration, to France; of which visit the immediate result was a sense of the increase of the possibilities of colour, and the after outcome, the fine drawings known as the "Rivers of France." On his return he resumed the exploration of his own country, going to Scotland and to Wales, walking wherever possible, spending but little, "and charging his employers but little," for the lessons of childhood had induced the habit of saving both his own and other people's money.

His visit to the North would seem to have had an enlarging effect upon him, as the drawings and paintings exhibited at the time attest. His historians generally agree that it largely developed

INTERIOR OF A KITCHEN

his genius as a landscape painter, and that not until this time did he become a serious rival of Girtin. It was at this time, too, that he sought Poetry as an aid to Painting, and under the influence of Thomson's "Seasons" produced several pictures, of which "Buttermere Lake" and "Dunstanborough Castle," now in the Melbourne National Gallery, were exhibited with illustrative lines from this poet.

CHAPTER IV

TURNER'S LOVE-STORY

Turner made Associate of Royal Academy—The strong fascination of the sea—First sea-pictures attract the attention of the critics—"Norham Castle" his first great success—His first Academy pictures show the influence of Wilson—Turner's strenuous work at this time—Turner's love-story—The slightness of the account in all biographies—Its influence on his life—His perennial love for Margate—"Moonlight: A Study of Millbank"—His first classical pictures—Experiments in water-colour—Again associated with Girtin—Their great developments in water-colour—"London from the South."

THE variety and the increasing promise of the work of Turner's early manhood had its effect in bringing about another decisive step in his career, for in 1799, when twenty-four, he was made an Associate of the Royal Academy. To this result all his efforts had been aimed, and this was why he had so assiduously painted in oils in the intervals of his other undertakings. It had been observed on his return from France that he had begun to show less need of looking to his different masters for guidance; or, as Ruskin says, he no longer copies, he imitates; and that instead of

copying a Vandeveldt he goes to sea and makes a picture in Vandeveldt's way.

It was already evident that another fascination had now taken the mind of Turner—the fascination of the sea. Its mystery, its variety, its charm, living perhaps in the background of his thoughts since his childhood's days on the Thames, was now, in these years of marked unfolding, making its secret passion felt. For even in '96, his first sea-piece—"Fishermen at Sea"—attracted attention at the Academy Exhibition; and in the following year, his "Fishermen going Ashore: Sunset" was described as showing marked progress; while in the next year again, according to the Catalogue, his "Fishermen Becalmed: Twilight" was considered a still notable advance.

These pieces were exhibited in the days when the Royal Academy held its exhibitions at Somerset House; when there were no art critics on the daily and weekly papers; and when the only articles written by way of comment or explanation of the pictures exhibited were in the pamphlets called "Companions, or Guides to the Exhibition." Of "Fishermen going out to Sea," Pasquin, the authoritative voice of the "Guides," according to Peter Cunningham, said "that its undulations are like those of real water," and added "that the picture had the great merit of

not being like those of any other master, as so many are."

Turner's admission as an Associate of the Academy had been almost a foregone certainty; but the picture which is said to have specially gained him the distinction was that of "Norham Castle, on the Tweed," now so well known in reproduction, as it appears both in the *Liber Studiorum*, as one of its subjects, and in its rightful place in the Rivers of England Series. Norham Castle remained ever afterwards one of Turner's best-loved subjects. On one occasion, when in company with one of his publishers, he, on passing the castle, made it a deep obeisance, and when his companion asked the reason, replied that it had led to the first great success of his life, and that he had never wanted either work or money afterwards. It is a noble and impressive study, with the dark mass of the castle standing up like some living object against the light of the evening sky, and with its deep reflection in the still water beneath. This fine idea of massiveness was first, however, produced by Girtin, who had been sketching the castle one summer morning, and, on his return in the evening, noted this splendour of effect, and instantly made the drawing, giving to it the tranquilness of Nature's mood. Turner used the same effect, strengthening the shadows, and rearranging the foreground

NORHAM CASTLE ON THE TWEED

to get his own desired amount of picturesqueness. The two drawings can be studied side by side in the British Museum. Turner's may perhaps be considered the more interesting, as the expression of his personality, for from the moment he began to feel his independence he was bold and inventive, and would allow nothing so unimportant as local accuracy to stand in the way of a striking effect. His independence is still to be seen rather in the treatment than in the colouring of his subjects, for up to a considerably later period his oil paintings show that he was decidedly under the influence of Wilson, just as the water-colours were considered evidences of his discipleship of Hearne. Or perhaps it would be more correct to say that he was then forming his style upon such large lines, that, with his eyes fixed upon his future performances, he imbibed ideas from everyone, welding all to his own purpose; he may take everyone's gold, but the jewel he makes of it is absolutely his own. In this he is in direct contrast to Girtin, in whom there is the single-mindedness and the sureness of being so in touch with Nature that he needs no help other than she gives. It is to this fine quality of Girtin's genius that Cosmo Monkhouse pays tribute when he says, "Few artists can be said to have known so clearly what they wanted, and to have been able to do it with so little check"; and again, "There are but few

artists like Girton, Gainsborough, and Hogarth, who can get rid of the dominant artistic influence of their time." That all Girtin's critics agree as to the fineness of his insight is but another proof of the importance of the influence he exercised upon Turner.

"Warkworth Castle," now in the South Kensington Gallery, belongs to this transitional time in Turner's life; it is dark and somewhat monotonous in colour, and firm and powerful in handling. "Kilgarran Castle" follows, noted for its impetuous workmanship and rugged strength.

It was at this period that Turner may be said to have absorbed the truth of the saving gospel of work. Ruskin, speaking emotionally of his strenuous toil, says that it was only by this hard and patient labour that he "overmastered the tragic passion of youth." But even Ruskin, who made Turner a life study, and who by his profound sympathy with the man himself, and for the motives that produced his work, may be supposed to have got nearer to him than any other of his friends and admirers, does not appear to have known more than the outline of the story which may well be supposed to have had so powerful an influence on his life.

Nor have Turner's other historians more than the framework of the recital on which to rest their conclusions and their surmises. But the phantasm

of a youthful love with an unhappy ending appears to every writer who attempts an estimate of the life of the great landscape painter. It is possible that there may, at first, have existed a narration confined to word of mouth; but when the earliest writers of Turner's life had to set it down in definite language, they were confronted by the vagueness of hearsay, and had to content themselves with a guarded tale. Yet this little thread of narrative, moving enough in its slenderness, shows but little variation in its repetition. Turner, on one of his frequent visits to Margate, in his youth, made confession of his love to the sister of a former schoolfellow, with whom he had made friends in his year of school there —it is not unlikely, considering his tenacity of feeling for all his early experiences, that the love really began while he was at school, and that it went on strengthening in silence until the right moment came for expression. Upon the fact that his love was returned no shadow of doubt has been thrown. With this new incentive to struggle for fame and fortune he started on one of his tours for the purpose of illustration—possibly to France, as the distance would account for the long interval that is said to have elapsed before he could make inquiry into the cause of his betrothed's silence. The conditions of travelling in those days would be against a hasty return, and per-

haps, too, he may have been bound by his agreement to finish his work within a certain time. Destiny, in the shape of the girl's stepmother, had in the interval interfered to frustrate his hopes. Actuated, apparently, by the motive of looking after the girl's interests, and, it may be, influenced by some personal dislike to Turner for his inherited meanness, of which there were always many evidences which appear to have made him unattractive to those who did not know him intimately, she intercepted and kept back all his letters, persuaded her stepdaughter of his want of faithfulness, and influenced her to become engaged to a man of means, whom she may possibly have thought would make her happier than the close and silent painter. On Turner's return he found by personal inquiry that his betrothed was actually on the eve of marriage, and that although she admitted that her heart was still his, she thought that honour compelled her to keep to her later bargain. This is all that ever appears in the successive relations of Turner's life, and his historians usually consider it to be too much in the nature of an episode to have played an elaborate part in history. Yet it may equally be suggested that many a moving drama for the stage has been evolved from a structure as slight. It has, too, something of the same appeal as that which has the incident of "Auld Robin Gray"—a song that has

touched the heart of the world, so dramatic is the feeling entwined with its lyrical form. It may also be compared to the more modern "Enoch Arden" in its effect upon the sensibilities.

That Turner should have been ever after reticent with regard to this heart trouble is only in keeping with his silence towards all the deepest things of his life. It is noteworthy that he never would talk about his work, but kept his conceptions and his methods of realisation wholly to himself, as though he felt that something of their completeness might evaporate in speech. Silence, too, is a habit—a habit which, when forced upon one in childhood, rarely relaxes its hold. It is possible, too, that along with the pain that could not find relief in expression there was some sense of shock that blurred his perceptions, and gave him a distrust of life. The people whose affections go out only to the few are those who have the most urgent need of the love of just this few, on whom their hearts are set. To judge by the tenacity of Turner's affection for his father, and the retentiveness of his memory with regard to the people and the conditions of his early life, it is permissible to conclude that so bitter a disappointment would dwell, a brooding fact, in the background of his consciousness, that it would colour his outlook of the future, and affect his habits.

It has been said of his repeated visits to Mar-

gate, and his constant use of it as a subject for his brush, that the wound to his feelings could not have been a very deep one, or he would have abjured the place; yet it would seem more in keeping with the adhesiveness of his nature that the whole incident would become so interwoven with his being, that the place would become like a part of himself. It seems to have pleased him to have filled its skies with an atmosphere of tenderness, and to the last days of his life he would dwell enthusiastically upon the glories of the sunsets in the Isle of Thanet, declaring that they were the loveliest in England. It is remarked by Ruskin, in his notes on the Harbours of England, with an air of disapprobation, that Turner is always painting Margate, and that he appears to be so satisfied with it as a subject, that here he indulges in no exaggerations, but tenderly reproduces its commonplace sands and streets, and that he lingers lovingly over even the windows of its uninteresting houses. Yet even Ruskin does not seem to have surmised the reason of Margate's attraction for Turner.

It has also been adduced as another reason why Turner never married that he was deeply impressed by the example of Sir Joshua Reynolds, and by his advice to his *confrères* to abstain from marriage, as it spoiled them for art. It has also been said that his natural meanness prevented him

from marrying, on the score of expense. It is highly probable that as such a marriage would only have been entered into from motives of convention—from the same motives that induced him, when once he had an ascertained position in the world of Art, to live in an expensive and dignified neighbourhood—that he would very closely regard the expenditure of money, and the claims it would make upon his time.

His work then henceforward became an outlet for all the fancy, passion, and tenderness of his nature—for all the moods of his mind. Considered from the mental side of Turner's life at this time, his little picture, "Moonlight: A Study of Millbank," is invested with a special interest, for it is essentially the impression of a mood—a mood that has found Nature in sympathy with its own. Beyond its complete expression of melancholy, expressed by the pale moon-rays on the dark gliding water, or the vagueness and hopelessness by the shadowy banks, it has but few definite claims to artistic excellence; yet the painter himself cherished it, and included it amongst those by which he wished the nation to have knowledge of him. It is strange, too, how the Thames seems to enter into his life at impelling periods. In childhood it inspires him; it is here like a symbol of his own lost hope; and in his death-hour he looks his last upon it.

In point of time, this picture comes before that of "Norham Castle," but it is here more fitly in its place in the order of narrative. For we know that in Art ambition held out its flag to him, and the desired goal had yet to be reached. It is now that he reaches out in many directions, and first tries his strength upon scriptural and classical subjects; of which the two best known at this time are "Rispah watching the Bodies of her Sons," as it afterwards appears in the *Liber Studiorum*, and "Æneas with the Sibyl," so frequently to be seen in reproduction—although neither of these were exhibited at the Royal Academy. "Æneas with the Sibyl" is usually held to exhibit more of the influence of Wilson, with the exception, perhaps, of "Calais Pier" and "The Shipwreck." Turner's work generally, at this period, contributes to the idea that he took Wilson more distinctly for a model than any other artist; but as the notable Welsh landscape painter died in 1782, Turner could never have been under his personal influence, as he was then a child in Maiden Lane. Of this composition it may be said that it is more classical in effect than some of his greater pictures dealing with the same class of subject, by reason of the absence of the heavy nymphs and goddesses; as, for instance, in "The Garden of the Hesperides," and "Phryne going to the Bath," and by the scarceness of objects in the land-

scape. The fine and bold curves of the foreground in this picture lead the eye on harmoniously to the lesser curves of the mid-distance, and thence to the horizon. Like others of Turner's dark pictures, it has a charming effect in reproduction when the values are retained, and the murkiness, through the lighter medium of engraving or photogravure, has disappeared.

While Turner was painting strenuously in oils, he was at the same time devoting himself earnestly to the development of water-colour. Indeed, Turner's studies and experiments at this time in water-colour did as much, if not more, for his enduring fame as his work in oils. For in water-colour he found, at last, the finest vehicle for his matchless effects of light, atmosphere, or distance, of foliage, the very look of sky and ground, of Nature herself.

It is now that we again find Turner closely associated with Girtin, and still, although relying on his own expression, profiting largely by Girtin's experiments. For Girtin was the first to discover the whole possibilities of water-colour, expressing with his brush light, colour, and form at once, thus rejecting the earlier method by which drawings were produced first by pencil outline, then by shading, and lastly by the local colour laid on. Girtin's beautiful pencil drawings prove him to have been so fine a master of form that he could

dispense with outline, and thus it was spoken of him that he was the first to paint in water-colours as no one had painted before. Pyne, one of the earliest historians of water-colour, said of the splendid effects produced by Turner and Girtin, that they gained for pictures in this medium the name of paintings; and that before their discoveries painters in water-colours had simply been called draughtsmen. It is only by a comparison of the earlier works in water-colour with those of to-day—and they may now be studied side by side in the leading public galleries—that we can estimate the strides made by these two great artists.

A fine outcome of this devoted study of water-colour at this period by Turner is the beautiful "London, from the South," with its exquisite sense of diffused light in sky and distance. Here London seems to lie in a dream. The spreading leafage, the cows quietly grazing in the foreground, give it so complete an air of repose that it takes us away from this bustling present.

CHAPTER V

TURNER'S FIRST NOTABLE OIL PAINTINGS

Turner elected R.A—The strong painting of Kilchurn Castle—His ambition to outdo Vandeveldt as a sea-painter—"Dutch Boats in a Gale"—The death of Girtin—Comparison between Turner and Girtin—"Coniston Fells" attracts attention—Turner's first studio in Hand's Court—When R.A. removed to Harley Street—Turner makes a second visit to France—"Calais Pier" greatly attracts the public—"The Shipwreck"—Turner's rivalry with Wilkie—The "Blacksmith's Shop"—Turner's jealousy of Claude—"The Sun Rising in a Mist"—Turner made Professor of Perspective at Royal Academy—"The Garden of the Hesperides"—Great expansion in seascape and landscape—"Ivy Bridge"—Turner's visits to Yorkshire—Becomes known to Mr. Fawkes of Farnley Hall.

THE year 1802 brought Turner the reward for which he had so consistently striven. In this year he was made Royal Academician, the coveted honour being again brought to him by one of his Scottish pictures. In "Kilchurn Castle"—a subject for which he had made several studies the previous year—his independence of treatment, his boldness of composition, are even more strikingly brought out than in the "Norham" of his

Associate year. As Hamerton said of it, "It was a Turner, and nothing but a Turner." For in Turner's hands the castle became simply a subject for the manifestation of striking effects. It was as though he were here expressing his own personality, and making painting speak as strongly as speech itself.

Sensitiveness to criticism, impatience of the praise given to others, and a consuming ambition, had all been factors in forcing Turner onwards to his present vantage-ground. One of the controlling ideas of his life at this period was to prove to the public that he could, if he chose, outshine the popular idol of the moment on his own ground. And he certainly did not leave off this system of rivalry until he held that he had triumphantly vindicated the position he had taken up, and proved to the world that he was a finer colourist than Claude.

Turner always maintained that he had been made the great sea-painter that time proved him to be by first seeing a fine Vandeveldt in a shop-window as he passed. Vandeveldt was then the admitted chief of marine painters, and his picture, "The Rising of a Storm," had made him the one name in the mouth of the art-loving public of the moment in this class of subject. Turner, fired by the idea of producing something still finer, set to work upon his "Dutch

DUTCH BOATS IN A GALE

Boats in a Gale," and if he did not by this powerful performance win all the adherents he wanted, he at least made it clear that he was a rival who would have to be reckoned with.

In "Dutch Boats in a Gale" he produced a powerful and striking effect both by the dazzling line of light in the distance where the battleships are ranged, and by the strong arrangement of the small vessels and boats on the ridge of a big wave sweeping in to the foreground, the white spray of the wave making a wide aureole of light around the boats. This idea of light is again repeated on the edge of the cloudland, half-way up the sky, the dark of the picture being given in different gradations.

The year 1802 was notable, too, for the death of Girtin, who, at twenty-seven, ended a bright and brief career, leaving behind him the reputation of a great artist, and the record of a fine and generous nature. He was to the last so feverish for performance that he died almost with the pencil in his hand ; and there can be but little doubt that overwork much accelerated his death.

There is no mention of any importance of the effect of Girtin's death upon Turner, beyond the saying, quoted by Hamerton, mention of which has already been made, "that both his income and his renown would have been less had Girtin lived." But probably, like many of Turner's

other deeper feelings, his regret for his former fellow-student and comrade in art never found expression in speech; it would have been far more in his way to overcome the pain of loss by persistent work.

Nor is it at all probable that had Girtin lived the two would ever have become serious rivals. Not only were their gifts so diverse, but Turner's strength was so great, and his tenacity of purpose so impelling, that, apart from his genius, the mere insistence of his own personality would have carried him beyond all danger of eclipse.

But to the lovers and admirers of Girtin it must have been something of a solace to have known how highly Turner appreciated his genius, and in what rank he held him in his own mind to have even acknowledged him as a rival. For this feeling for Girtin was something very different from his defiant attitude towards Claude; he always boldly maintained that he was the equal, if not the superior, of the latter, and insisted that it was the blindness or the prejudice of his critics that prevented them from seeing it. In Girtin he acknowledged that there was something that it would tax him to surpass.

With Girtin's death, Turner's public connection with water-colour painting may be said to cease. After attaining the rank of Royal Academician, he rarely exhibited pictures in this medium. His

name is not on the list of artists at the first Exhibition of Painters in Water-Colour, held in April, 1805, in Lower Brook Street, Grosvenor Square, as he was then prohibited by the rules of the Academy from being a member of any other society. But that he practised the art assiduously, recent exhibitions of his earlier fine pictures abundantly prove; more particularly those held at Burlington House, and, later still, at the Guildhall, where specimens of his work, at all periods, from the beginning to the end, were to be seen upon the walls. There is no mention, however, of his diploma picture, "Dolbadern Castle, North Wales," either in its original form or in reproduction, nor is it now to be found in the National Collection at Trafalgar Square.

Although it is generally considered that Turner never reached the public, in the way of powerful impression, until he had painted "Calais Pier," he had still been steadily growing, in the estimation of his critics and admirers, by the strength and veritability of his sea-pieces; and his "Dutch Fishing Boats in a Gale," although painted in 1801, the year prior to the R.A. degree, was held to be so masterful a performance that it clearly betokened coming greatness. From this year (1801) to 1819 this quality of masterfulness may generally be held to be the predominating note in his work of this description.

Ruskin, speaking with some emphasis, said that he did not consider the painter to have been in existence prior to 1800. He may, perhaps, intend this verdict to have reference to colour only, for Turner had, as early as 1798, a year after his "Moonlight," produced "Coniston Fells, Lancashire," a subject suggested, it may be supposed, by Milton's description, as appended to it were four lines from *Paradise Lost*, but with so good a feeling for atmosphere, and with so much truth of natural form, that it was considered to betoken unusual strength for landscape.

Turner's first studio had been set up in Hand's Court, close to his father's shop; it had been taken to accord with the dignity of a constant exhibitor at the Royal Academy; and whilst here he contented himself with signing his work W. Turner, Maiden Lane. Upon attaining the degree of Associate, he moved to the more expensive locality of 75, Morton Street, Portland Road, and here in place of his initial wrote himself William Turner. But upon receiving the coveted honour of Royal Academician, he betook himself to 64, Harley Street, thinking, presumably, that the new dignity attached to his name required a migration to a still more expensive and fashionable quarter; and with this change of residence he signed himself in full, William Mallord Turner—a form from which he never afterwards departed.

CALAIS PIER

Turner's means were by this time ample. As he had hitherto only spent upon necessaries, and as he painted rapidly, and painted every day, he quite early in life acquired a considerable income, yet it could hardly be for the comforts and elegancies of a house in an imposing neighbourhood that Turner had made the change, for he was apparently rarely in it, and still more rarely did he entertain anyone of social position. It was probably taken for the sake of the address, or because other great artists had favoured the vicinity.

In 1803 he made a second journey to France, and on his return produced "Calais Pier," the picture which, as it has already been remarked, is said to have first made him intimately known to the British public. Although "Calais Pier," owing to its constant reproduction, now scarcely needs description, it is still easy to see that it must have challenged admiration by reason of the strong movement of wind and the swell of waters, and by the life and interest of the subject—taking in the arrival of the English packet, the bustle of the pier, with the fishermen landing and cleaning fish, and the white sail catching the sun in the distance. The picture was noted at the time as being dark in colour, strongly betokening the influence of Wilson, and representing Nature as he would have represented it. Or as Ruskin has

said of it: "The sky is black, because Turner does not yet know how to get light except by contrast." But it was evident by some hints of colour that his second visit to the Continent had, in oils, as it had on the former occasion in the use of water-colour, taught him some important lessons in the matter of seeing with his own eyes. When exhibited at the Royal Academy it greatly increased the painter's notability by the interest it excited. It is reported that Turner, coming upon a group of people standing before it, and discussing its merits, said, pointing to the fish, "And they say Turner can't colour."

This picture, like "The Shipwreck," though not so black as that, is still much darker than when Ruskin wrote. Of "The Shipwreck," too, it may equally be said that from the fine arrangement of its masses of light and shade, by the impression it makes of power, and by the genius with which it represents the strife of the elements and the smallness of man's struggle against them, that all being in the handling, it gains rather than loses by perfect reproduction in black and white.

"The Shipwreck" was painted two years after "Calais Pier," but was never exhibited. It was one of the earliest to find a place in the Turner Gallery, for even at this time Turner began to make the collection of pictures destined for the nation—keeping them in the meantime in his

THE SHIPWRECK

own house, and showing them only, and upon rare occasions, to his most intimate associates. Some of the very finest productions of his brush, both in oil and water-colour, were here concealed, and, except for an occasional private sale, were hardly known to be in existence until after his death.

"The Shipwreck" was purchased from Turner by Lord de Tabley, but was afterwards exchanged for "The Sun Rising in a Mist." It was of "The Shipwreck" that Ruskin said in explanation of some of its faults "that Turner has not yet learned that the sea is a damp element"—though this criticism has not itself passed uncriticised.

Two pictures exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1807 attracted wide public attention, as well as for their intrinsic excellence they became centres of interest by reason of certain ideas in connection with them. The first in order of these, "The Blacksmith's Shop," became notable at once as a subject quite out of the range of Turner's usual work—wide as that reach of work had now become; and it attracted still greater notice on account of a rumour circulated at the time that it had been painted to eclipse Wilkie's "Village Politicians," to which great praise had been awarded. The story as given in Peter Cunningham's Memoir—and he there produces proof of its authenticity—relates that when Turner found that

Wilkie's picture was likely to be held more attractive than his own, that he blew up the fires of his forge to such brilliance that they took all the colour out of his fellow-artist's quieter treatment of his subject. Wilkie was then not much over eighteen, and was, too, struggling for a maintenance! But in extenuation of Turner it has been furthermore said that he only wanted to annoy Sir George Beaumont, who had hitherto looked very coldly upon his productions; and this was the more aggravating to Turner because the wealthy baronet was equally well known as a generous patron of art as a highly cultivated connoisseur; he had been, moreover, an ardent admirer and supporter of Girtin. As Turner afterwards became both the friend and admirer of Wilkie, this act of his may be taken as a proof that he even then foresaw the Scottish lad's future greatness; and it also testifies to the idea that Turner held of the worth of his own work, that he claimed predominance in art, and would not, at any cost, allow his name to be overshadowed by that of another.

Yet very different is his recorded treatment of Sir Thomas Lawrence; for when he found that one of his own continental subjects—"Cologne: the Packet Boat Arriving"—so glowed with colour that it quite dimmed Lawrence's pictures placed beside it, and that he thus overshadowed his brother-

artist, he good-naturedly glazed his own over with lamp-black, saying that it would wash off after the Exhibition, and that he could not endure Lawrence's distress. Yet Lawrence was not then in need of help and consideration as was Wilkie, and by the date assigned it would seem to have occurred at a time when Turner was less assured of his fame than at the other. The two incidents may perhaps be taken as expressive of those sudden ebullitions of feeling, the result of temperament, of which Turner's life affords many a proof. For it was still many years afterwards when, after having painted Rembrandt's daughter, in a scarlet gown, for one of the Academy exhibitions, Turner, finding that the picture of a university professor had a still redder gown, immediately set to work to make his own yet more brilliant; and when asked why he did so, replied that "he was determined that no picture of his should be outdone by one of a similar subject." Although varying in time, these incidents may be taken together as an indication of Turner's own idea of the national character of his work, for as he looked upon his pictures as belonging to the nation, it is conceivable that he resented anything that overshadowed them as less a personal than a national matter.

"The Sun Rising in a Mist," his other notable picture of the year, is interesting from the opposite

point of view, that he himself, by its special treatment, seeks to outrival another painter; for it belongs to the first period of his determination to outshine Claude. He strongly emphasised this intention by the conditions he made when bequeathing it to the nation, viz. that it should be hung between two Claudes, in order that the public should be enabled to judge the justice of his claims. This picture was exchanged for "The Shipwreck," but was again bought back by Turner at the sale of Lord de Tabley's effects in 1827. "The Sun Rising in a Mist" was noted at its exhibition as a great advance upon the promise of the early "Coniston." Its glowing warmth of sky repeated in the water, an atmospheric effect of early day, allied to the human element and movement given to it by the arriving and unloading of the fishing-boats, and by the presence of the guardship, has made it one of the most admired of Turner's larger works.

This, too, was the year in which the *Liber Studiorum* was first begun—a masterpiece that, in its inception, certainly owes its existence to this same spirit of emulation with Claude. Turner had at this time the further satisfaction of being made Professor of Perspective to the Royal Academy—a position which he held to the end of his life.

Up to this time Turner's classical and scriptural

SUN RISING IN A MIST

subjects had been very frequent. Of the scriptural subjects, "The Holy Family," "The Destruction of Sodom," and "The Tenth Plague of Egypt," the one afterwards engraved for the *Liber Studiorum*, are the most widely known. It was observable that his scriptural pictures did not bring him much fame; this was possibly owing to the absence of the religious sentiment in Turner himself; and when compared with the exquisite beauty through which the sentiment of religious awe and reverence seems to breathe in Giorgione's pictures, one may be permitted to wonder why Ruskin says, in relation to Turner's scriptural work, "I conclude him to have a finer imagination than Giorgione."

No student of Ruskin's description of Turner's work can be unacquainted with his exhaustive explanation of Turner's conception of "The Garden of the Hesperides," nor of his exposition of the power displayed in his treatment of "Jason and the Golden Fleece," two of the most notable of his classical pictures of this time. The lines supposed to be illustrative of "The Garden of the Hesperides" are taken from Milton's *Comus*, although the feeling in it is hardly that of "the jocund spring," nor does it give the idea of the Greek description of its enchanting atmosphere. Ruskin's explanation of its gloom that Turner had adopted Spenser's idea, "that the fruit had first

been growing in the Garden of Mammon," is thus the more weighty and interesting. The picture is very dark; the lake almost black, buttressed on one side by dark cliffs, and on the other overshadowed by groups of trees, whose forms suggest gloom and mystery; the great dragon lying on the mighty rock makes the colour of the mid-distance by the streaming fire he breathes from his mouth. Yet it impresses itself upon the mind of the beholder as having greatness, because it is an independent production of Turner's mind.

After this period Turner seems to have devoted himself chiefly to landscape and seascape, both in oil and water-colour. To the former medium belong his "St. Mawes," "Falmouth Harbour, Cornwall," "Windsor," and the lovely "Abingdon, Berkshire," with a view of the Thames, all going into his private collection. At water-colour he worked unremittingly, giving to it that charm and richness that delights the eye of the Art lover. To one of his subjects, "Ivy Bridge," he seems to have returned again and again, for it appears in the Rivers of Devon Series; it is in several of his early sketches, and it makes one of the charming smaller pictures in the Turner Water-Colour Room of the National Gallery. In this he has a warmth of colour and breadth of treatment, a living touch in detail observable in the treat-

IVY BRIDGE

ment of the stones and foliage, and a perfect maintenance of tone that mark it as belonging to his second manner, as it is called. As a composition alone it is delightful, with the gentle water flowing under the rustic bridge, on which the stage-coach is stopping, giving to it that human touch so often to be found in Turner's landscapes. "Ivy Bridge" appears again as a subject in oils, in the list of Mr. Bicknell's sale at Christie's, in 1863, when it brought about five times as much as the painter had been paid for it.

Turner had now again begun his journeyings over England, in his constant search of beauty and variety. He went frequently to Yorkshire, not alone for scenery, but for the sake of Mr. Fawkes, of Farnley Hall, one of his most liberal patrons and devoted friends, for whom he painted several special pictures. But the southern coast of England, during at least a part of this time, mainly claimed his attention.

CHAPTER VI

THE SOUTHERN COAST SCENERY

The Southern Coast Scenery—Turner's liberal alteration of places to get their effect—His first visit to Devon: his affection for the place—The long delays in publication of Southern Coast Scenery—Turner's quarrels with Messrs. Cooke—His eccentricities as a writer—The Southern Coast Scenery expressive of his deep love of the sea—Descriptions of the drawings—Turner's fine skies, and his frequent visits to Dover—The spirit of the drawings—Turner moves to Queen Anne Street—Takes his father to live with him—Builds a villa at Twickenham—The father's peculiarities—Turner's great friend, the Rev. Mr. Trimmer—Turner's house in Upper Mall, Hammersmith—Homeliness of Turner's domestic life.

ALTHOUGH Turner first conceived the idea of his *Liber Studiorum* in the year 1807, immediately after the production of the "Sun Rising in a Mist," owing partly to the difficulties of the undertaking itself, and partly to circumstances connected with the engravings, the plates were only produced at uncertain intervals, and the completion of the work spread over something like fourteen years. In the meantime, between its interrupted and unequal appearances, Turner took himself afield, to assuage his passion for

work, his irrepressible energy, and his love of landscape.

One of the finest of the several illustrated series that he produced within the following twenty years was that of the Southern Coast Scenery. He, during this time, devoted himself largely to the study of subjects illustrative of English Nature: coast or riverside, secluded village or country landscape. And because of the untiring labour he spent upon them, and because, too, of the spirit of pride and tenderness that breathes through them, they became an expression of his deep love of England, and of his absorbing interest in the things that help to make her national life. Apart from their intrinsic beauty of colouring, the earliest engraved illustrations serve to show his splendid command over the disposition of the objects of his picture, the harmonies of line and curve, the fine arrangement of masses of light and shade, the production of tone, and the mastery of gradation.

It has to be noted that in attaining these artistic results the features of the different places were, in a number of instances, liberally altered. As Thornbury remarked: "Turner never cared for accuracy if he could invent successfully." This is, in a certain sense, true not alone of the majority of his illustrative studies, but also of the greater number of his large oil paintings, for the per-

sonality of Turner always dominated his subject; but the result is also always a fine composition, and always true to Nature, and true also in the sense of giving its spirit to the nature of the scenery he depicted. It was the accuracy of detail that, for the sake of producing vividness of effect, he set at naught, not the accuracy of character; had he sacrificed that, he would have been a less, and not a greater, artist, by reason of his innovations.

It is not altogether easy to assign the particular time at which studies were made for any particular series, as many of the drawings were anterior to their engraved form, and many also must have been made for several different purposes at the same time. The drawings for the Rivers of Devon were possibly made on the occasion of his first visit to Devonshire in 1808; and quite probably, also, this would be the date of his first drawing of Ivy Bridge. He paid many after-visits to this county, drawn thither by the variety and bold character of much of its beautiful scenery; and it was upon these occasions that he maintained, to the different companions of his journeyings, that he was, by birth, a Devonshire man. The meeting with Mr. Cyrus Redding, described in Thornbury's *Life of Turner*, took place in 1812; and it was somewhere about this time that the first drawing was made on the banks of the Tamar for "Crossing

the Brook," the picture that now has the place of honour amongst the oils in the Turner Collection at the National Gallery.

From 1810 to 1820, usually spoken of as his second period, Turner got very closely in touch with Nature—he seems to have discovered some of her secrets, to have found out many of her methods. This is probably the reason why the majority of the water-colours belonging to this, as to a large part of the third period, have so much charm. Their exquisite beauty, their refinement, and their truthfulness were the outcome of this influence of Nature. And chiefly, as expressive of this time, is the South-east Coast Scenery valuable; it is a testimony to his love of English landscape, and to the impulse he received from its characteristics to give the world of his best.

As in the *Liber Studiorum*, so also there would seem to have been a good many vicissitudes attendant upon the publication of the South-east Coast Scenery. It was brought out by Messrs. W. and B. Cooke, in reply to a large public demand for works illustrative of the beauties of England. It was at least ten years in preparation. The first number was issued in January, 1814; and the successive ten numbers seem to have required six years for their production in irregular appearances. After these delays the work passed out of the hands of Messrs. Murray, of Albemarle Street,

and passed into those of Messrs. Arch, of Cornhill, who carried it out to its completion. Turner, in the course of the work, appears to have had several quarrels with the Cookes, both about money matters and about his own position with regard to the production. It was his particular desire to contribute the letterpress as well as the illustrations—thinking probably that he best knew how the subject-matter of his own drawings ought to be described. Of the eccentricity of this latter claim there can be no doubt, but as the publication was an extremely profitable one, his contention about money appears to have been very well grounded.

The merest glance at Turner's *Fallacies of Hope*, the production which he regarded with so much favour himself, will amply justify the Messrs. Cooke's contempt for his literary pretensions. One can easily understand the editor's pronouncement "that Mr. Turner's are the most extraordinary compositions that I have ever read. It is quite impossible for me to correct them, as I do not even understand them. The punctuation is everywhere defective." But all Turner's literary attempts exhibit the same blindness to his own deficiencies in the matter of even the first elements of composition.

The original production of the South-east Coast Scenery is to be found in the Art Library at

WHITSTABLE OYSTER BEDS

South Kensington, and is indeed a thing in which the eye delights. Besides being an expression of Turner's general feeling for English scenery, and for the ideas that he desired to advocate in his work, these lovely illustrations are a striking record also of his deep, unchanging love of the sea under all its aspects, and in its every mood, for all relate to the sea-coast, or to the lands that look upon the sea—the thoughts they express are in connection with it, and with the avocations of the people who make their living by it, either in peace or in storm.

Here is this lovely picture of Whitstable—a place by which to sit down and dream, a very cure, as it presents itself in its atmosphere of quietude, for overstrained nerves. It breathes the spirit of gentleness. Peace is expressed by the sight of the presence of man going on with his work, both on sea and shore; for here are the people distributed about the beach at their labours, and there are the white-sailed boats that speak of the avocations that pertain to the waters. To this has to be added the sense of pure and subdued colour here received from the values of the engraving.

Another picture of peace is the beautiful "Poole"; the harbour giving the impression of being asleep in the light, under the benediction of the sky—

sky and earth blending together in harmonious mood.

Then we turn to the beauty of Weymouth, looking as though it had grown upon the paper—so little there is in it, and yet so much; for the result is due to the disposition of its objects, its charm of atmosphere—a couple of boats making its foreground, and, beyond, a low sweep of distance and an empty sky.

"Bridport," again, is wholly in Turner's powerful manner, with its striking arrangement of light and shade.

"Deal," too, with its whirl of waters and stormy sky, brings us back to the spirit of strife in Nature, and the contention for mastery between man and the elements.

In all this illustration of Nature Turner would seem to have been drawn, now by the look of the land away from the sea, and now by the look of the sea away from the land; but there is not one of these beautiful things that do not serve to show his fine command of the scenery of the sky, whether in calm or storm. They also serve to show his perfect sense of the relation of the sky to the earth, and the result is a harmony that is always convincing. In going through any illustrative series by Turner, as, for instance, this Southern Coast Scenery, or the Rivers of England, we constantly feel that he makes the sky

DOVER

give the keynote to the mood of the picture. Sometimes he seems to concentrate all his strength upon the sky; this especially over a quiet stretch of land. We, as it were, at once look up to the full sky, with its multitude of lovely cloud-forms, and see how gradually, as they come from the higher region to the lower, they grow less distinct in form until they blend with the horizon, and how all this makes for the sense of distance. The effect comes, as we learn, from his profound knowledge of the laws of perspective; but we do not think of this as we look upon the result—we only feel its beauty and say "This is Nature!"

Or sometimes the sky becomes a restful plain for the eyes, away from the life and bustle and movement of the earth; and this is so in the fine spectacle Turner gives us of Dover, in which the land is full of the "pomp and circumstance of war," seen in the firing and the marshalling of soldiers, in the animation about the waters, and the prominence given to the fort. To this strong effect is added a splendour of cliff; yet all is overhung by a tranquil and gentle sky, leading from the idea of activity to that of repose.

Incidentally, it may be mentioned that Turner was very fond of Dover, and that he gained his intimate knowledge of rough and squally seas by frequent crossings from this port to Calais; and that at Dover he made drawings for some of his

fine sea-pictures, one of the earliest being "Ships Bearing up for Anchor," painted soon after his admission to the Royal Academy.

Devonport is one of the scenes in which Turner's thoughts seem to turn away from the sea, for here we have so much more of the land, with the lines of the hills stretching out to the distance, and with a certain disposition of objects that bring to us the air of country life. Beyond the delightful foreground bank, with its graceful and slender trees, the only water seen is more like that of a tranquil bay, just dotted with boats at rest.

"Mount Edgcumbe," too, is a drawing that brings us again to calm seas and the land in a dream. Hamerton, in his *Life of Turner*, makes special mention of this place, with reference to Turner's fine physical condition at this time, under incidental circumstances trying to the nerves. And in Thornbury's book Mount Edgcumbe becomes the locality of pleasant reminiscences, retailed from Mr. Cyrus Redding's narrative of his meeting here with the great and eccentric artist.

In "Hythe" one's thoughts go back to armaments and all the glamour and bustle of military life, in contrast with a peaceful setting.

"St. Michael's Mount" in this series is the drawing from which the beautiful oil painting of a later time was taken, and though the intensity of light in the picture is not to be found in

PORTSMOUTH

the earlier engraved form, it is itself charming for its delicate atmosphere.

In the "Land's End" the lights of the middle distance come so vividly against the dark of the foreground as to give a Rembrandt-like effect to the whole scene. The Cornish skies are in this series all full and noble.

"Margate," in this Southern Coast Scenery, has even more gentleness of effect than in the Harbours of England Series. Even the commonplace of the seaside town itself is idealised, and the sky, lifted far above it, is filled with a great tenderness.

"Portsmouth," here, is a scene full of life and variety, at once producing the impression of a great seaport, where the "wooden walls" stand up in all their stateliness in the foreground, and the forests of shipping, stretching away to the distance, take the thoughts of the beholder with them to the seas that lie out of sight.

Apart from their artistic appeal in the way of natural beauties, and the scope their characteristics offered to his genius for picturesque effects, there was doubtless much in the history of the places themselves, in their connection with the past, and the scenes that had been enacted in them, to stir Turner's imagination—for everything connected with England's history as a great sea power aroused in him the sentiment of national love

and pride; and it may have been from the impulse of this sentiment that he magnified the features of some of the great ports, as is so manifestly the case with his presentment of Dover, where he raises the cliffs to such a height that the town lies low at one's feet. The sense of their impregnability was what he desired to produce, and so they are made imposing in form that this idea might be directly conveyed.

The historic element with reference to Turner's drawings for the Southern Coast Scenery does not enter here, nor is there room for description of his association with the life of the different ports, nor for detailed account of the several visits he paid them; for not only did he resort to them to make studies for special sea-pictures, such, for instance, as "The Departure of the Fleet," but for the purposes of the Ports and Harbours Series, or the Harbours of England.

That its associations with the past influenced Turner in his treatment of "Folkestone" can hardly be doubted, since he makes so prominent a feature of the undisturbed and complete possession of the beach by smugglers—the incident itself setting the time backwards. In this lovely drawing of Folkestone the eye is carried onwards from the shore by the fine sweep of the nearer cliff, on which the church and its array of buildings, towered over by the fort, are set on high, and

FOLKESTONE

from thence it is borne to the nearer waters, as they lie flecked with white-sailed boats. And the sense of a whole completeness is given by a tranquil sky, whose light cloud-forms overhang the receding whiteness of the climbing shore.

The dominant idea in the presentation by Turner of this Southern Coast Scenery would seem to be that of the sea surrounding England: in all these drawings it would seem to have been kept, so to speak, in the very front of his mind, so strongly does it impress itself on the beholder. In keeping, too, with the thought indicated in the frontispiece of the *Liber* is the sense that national pride and strength are bound up with the feeling of supremacy of the great waters.

It is to be regretted that the Southern Coast Scenery is not to be found in the National Gallery, although the places represented are all there in the Ports and Harbours Series, but they are taken from altogether different points of view, under different aspects of light, and with other schemes of colour.

While Turner was making these tours through a great part of England he was, at intervals, in London, much occupied there both with matters of art, and with his household affairs. For in 1812 he moved from Harley Street to 47, now 23, Queen Anne Street, and there he remained, or at least kept the house as a residence, to the

end of his life. In 1814 he built a villa at Twickenham, near the famous ferry. This he at first called Solus Lodge, but for some reason, which does not appear to be anywhere chronicled, he altered it to Sandycombe Lodge. It was in the year of its building that he drew his much-admired "Watercress Gatherers" for the *Liber Studiorum*—the subject being taken from a spot near his house.

Both in the social and moral sense, from this time to 1829, the date of his father's death, would seem to have been, regarding it from every point of view, the best period in Turner's life. There can be no doubt of the genuineness of his affection for his father; for, as he had at once taken him to his house in Harley Street when he expressed a desire to give up his shop in Maiden Lane, so he now installed him in his semi-country home at Twickenham. Turner's father had given up his hair-dressing business in 1800, chiefly, it would seem, because of a change in the fashion of wigs, the elaborate flowing kind which he had been wont to curl to perfection giving place to the shorter and plainer kind that, as we may see from illustrations of the time, must have been very much less remunerative to the barber. In Harley Street he occupied himself partly with house-keeping affairs and partly with the duties of *cicérone*, as it used to be his proud occupation to

show his son's pictures to admiring callers—for even at that time the house had become notable as a private gallery. He is also reported to have taken shillings from the visitors for his trouble, although his son was, even in the earliest years of 1800, a man of considerable wealth. But then the habit of scraping up money must at that time have become too much like second nature to have loosened its hold under the influence of the conviction of amplitude of means. Thornbury indignantly rebukes an earlier historian for saying that the great artist himself not improbably connived at his father's system of making perquisites out of his own pleasurable duties; yet it does not seem so improbable when we consider that Turner through the whole of his life never departed from the habits, either mental or social, of his early days; and it would seem to be a substantiated fact that in his bargains with publishers and patrons he always held out for any extra shillings he could get. Thornbury, too, relates many amusing anecdotes of the elder Turner's ingenious methods of saving pence, and amongst them that he used to be seen once a week, trudging back to Twickenham from some market-place, with his week's provisions tied up in a blue handkerchief, having effected a substantial saving by the journey. He also tells us how for a long time the old hairdresser used to puzzle his brains to get to London

and back twice a week without paying his travelling fare by rail, for he still waited upon many of his former patrons although he had given up his shop, until at last he found that he could bribe the market gardeners, with glasses of rum, to let him ride to and fro in their carts, on the top of the vegetables.

Turner is supposed to have chosen Twickenham in order to be near Reynolds's old house, and quite certainly he went for the love of the river, for we hear much of his delight in his boat, and of his many sketching excursions in it, to which we, no doubt, owe many of his lovely pictures of the Thames and its scenery. Between his occupations in his boat-house, his experiments in his garden, and his pleasure in his old pony and chaise, and his companionship with his father, we see the best and pleasantest side of Turner's nature. He even establishes pleasant intimacies with some of his neighbours, and amongst them especially with the Rev. Mr. Trimmer, a vicar in the locality, and afterwards one of the executors of his will.

It was to Sandycombe Lodge that Mr. Trimmer used frequently to bring his son, then an observant lad, who admiringly took note of everything that related to the domestic surroundings of the great artist. These notes he afterwards made over to Thornbury for publication in his

Life of Turner, and thus we get more intimate glimpses of the painter and his father in their family life together in these chronicles of Turner's affairs than in any other relation. From these pages we get a very pleasant impression of the elder Turner's happiness at Twickenham, and of his bustling activity in his double capacity of housekeeper and assistant in the studio; for not only did he strain his son's canvases and varnish them when required, but he used also to admit and look after the wants of visitors, and attend to the dinner, if he did not actually cook it. The place was his home, and he thoroughly delighted in the work he found there. For though Turner, in 1818, took a suburban house in the Upper Mall, Hammersmith, to be near Loutherbourg, a German artist of eminence, who had established himself in the locality, and whose imagination in art he much admired, he does not appear to have taken his father with him. His visits to Hammersmith were, however, rather lengthened ones for the erratic Turner, and there he worked assiduously at his beautiful water-colour pictures, though he finally gave the place up on the departure of Loutherbourg, who does not seem to have been very long the rage of London artistic circles, as much of his work was in advance of the art and the thought of his time.

Thornbury remarks that the father was very

like the son in appearance—thin, wiry, and common looking, with very sharp eyes, quick movements, and very ready with his hands. Their family life was characterised by extreme homeliness, both of habits and appurtenances. A coarse cloth scarcely covering the deal table, horn-handled knives, two-pronged forks, and mugs, was sufficient for the furnishing of their dinner-table, and they got up and down, during the progress of their meals, when anything was wanted, and waited upon themselves. But the food was always good and abundant, and Turner made heartily welcome anyone whom he admitted to his table. As a matter of fact, Turner never forsook the dominant habits of the class to which he by birth and early training belonged, and his house in Queen Anne Street was characterised by the same absence of conventionality. It is entirely to his credit that he never affected any difference of habit when he had, as his guests, people of a different social order. Another good trait in his character was his fondness for children. Mr. Trimmer's son relates that he was, as a boy, continually receiving kindnesses from him.

There would seem to have been no break in either the artistic or domestic sequence of good things in Turner's life until his father's death on Michaelmas Day.

CHAPTER VII

THE "LIBER STUDIORUM"

Turner's amazing activity and variety in art—Sketch of his work at this time—Begins the *Liber Studiorum:* its great attraction for critics—The *Liber* begins in rivalry of Claude—The difference in its aim—The scope of the work—The idea first discussed with the artist Wells—Descriptions of the drawings—The work best understood as a whole—The high prices now paid for the different subjects and for sets—Its partial failure when published—Fine sets in public galleries and in private collections.

TO get something like an adequate idea of the amazing activity, strength, and variety of Turner's mind in his pursuit of art, we have to think for a moment of all that he not alone resolved upon, but actually carried out, in the years between 1807, when his material success was assured, and his genius widely recognised, up to 1835, before even the shadow of decline had begun to creep across his work. During the period indicated he may be said to have been in the very zenith of his powers, and certainly it is to this time that we owe the many series of works which gave rise to his finest, his most exquisite

water-colours—productions which now make the greater part of his most enduring fame. To this time belongs much of his exploration of England, Scotland, and Wales. It may claim that wonderful unfolding of colour that appeared in his work, due to his first visit to Italy in 1819, and, in a still larger measure, to the second in 1831. It saw and exhausted his strenuous rivalry with Claude, and more incidentally, with other masters. It witnessed the change of style from the strong masterfulness of the first period to the more subtle and delicate strength of atmospheric effect, arrangement of light, and, so to speak, the signal expressiveness of colour.

Besides the Southern Coast Scenery, which has already been referred to *in extenso,* this period saw also the production of the Rivers of England, and River Scenery, the Rivers of Devon, the Richmondshire, and the England and Wales Series. It saw also, in so far as it was ever completed, the completion of the *Liber Studiorum.* It includes two successive sets of Scottish scenery, in illustration of Sir Walter Scott's works; and includes also the illustration of Rogers' *Italy.* Incidentally it may be noted here that Turner has not painted a single Irish scene; nor does he appear ever to have visited Ireland, although it might have been supposed that its fine lake and mountain scenery, and the variety of atmospheric

effect, due to the moistness of its climate, would have strongly attracted him.

Turner himself always regarded the *Liber Studiorum* as the embodiment of one of the most important and most national of his ideas; and upon it he spent a greater amount of thought, care, and individual workmanship than upon any other of his many series of illustrations. To the end of his life he looked upon it as a masterpiece —a view which his acknowledged critics have amply confirmed.

If its importance, both as a work of art and educational value to the student, is to be gauged by the number of books, treatises, and articles devoted to it, the rank it holds, even beside Turner's other great productions, is high indeed. Besides Ruskin's exhaustive treatment, the student and inquirer will find in the Rev. Stopford Brooke's fine and enthusiastic Notes on the *Liber Studiorum* both the interpretation of individual drawings and the exposition of the purpose and meaning of the work as a whole. In Messrs. Pye and Rogers' valuable book upon the subject may be found ample information as to the production of the plates, the different engravers who produced them, the public interest with regard to them, and many another important fact incidental to the separate difficulties that seemed to attend upon each engraving. Thorn-

bury has devoted a part of his book to the history of the *Liber*, and every successive writer on Turner and his works has given it a place in the recital.

The initial idea of the *Liber Studiorum* belongs to the year 1807. It followed closely upon the exhibition of "The Sun Rising in a Mist," and seems at first to have sprung chiefly from the motive of rivalry with Claude's *Liber Veritatis*—Turner at the time being apparently much possessed with the resolve to outdo the fame of the great French painter of landscape. Wings were doubtless given to this resolution by the marked attention then being given to the works of Claude by the *cognoscenti* of London, amongst whom Sir George Beaumont seems to have been most pronounced in his admiration. And Turner, as it has already been noted, was very impatient of the praises bestowed upon other painters, and very ambitious to prove to the public that he could surpass the master most in vogue, even upon his own ground, if he set himself to the contest.

That the *Liber Studiorum* is a work beside which the *Liber Veritatis* dwindles markedly in comparison is a generally admitted fact; but Turner's historians all agree in their opinion of the unfairness of the comparison, for Claude's book consisted chiefly of memoranda or slight drawings of pictures previously painted; nor does

he seem to have had any public nor, indeed, any ulterior motive at all in their production. Turner's, on the contrary, were drawings upon which he bent all his strength to make perfect, that they might remain as examples of the highest workmanship of their order; thus, it may be, grew the idea of making them the expression of his national sentiment, and of the lessons he meant to convey.

Studies from his wanderings abroad, the scenery of his native land, the art of composition in painting, all enter into this work, putting it upon quite a different ground from any other series which he undertook to illustrate. In the *Liber Studiorum* every plate was designed to convey an express meaning without the aid of letterpress. Many of the fine things in landscape that had already made the subject of some of his noted pictures come into it—thus the lovely "Norham" of his Associate year, and the "Falls of the Clyde," exhibited in 1801. The life of the East, his feeling for classic times, his passion for the sea, the influence of old ruins, the forms of Continental scenery, all individually find expression here; while the whole, in relation, may be said to speak of the influence of Nature and the strivings of humanity.

The first idea of the *Liber* was discussed in the house of William Frederick Wells, an artist of eminence in the Water-Colour Society, for whom

Turner entertained an especial friendship. He it was who suggested the divisions of the work under headings indicating the nature and subject of the drawings, as P. for Pastoral scene, H. for Historical, M. for Mountainous or Marine, and E. P. for Epic Pastoral. Although not rigidly descriptive of the subject chosen, the drawings approximate to one or other of these headings, and they serve to indicate the scope and intention of the artist. The idea did not altogether originate with the *Liber*, for Varley had before the time of Turner's work used the same signs in description of certain of his own drawings.

The Frontispiece, the index to the whole, has already been described, and space does not permit of a complete review of the successive plates.

Under the group of marine subjects the "Entrance to Calais Harbour" may be cited as a fine example of the drawings that relate to the sea. The arrangement of the light, coming in full volume from the left of the sky, falling upon the town, and, in its fullest strength, upon the outstretched sails of the boats in the foreground, and upon the trough of the waves as they directly meet them, has an admirable effect of breadth. The curves of the waves are themselves a delight to the eye, as are also those of the circlets of light rising from the lower sky to the darkness of the upper region; thus expressing the harmonies of

ENTRANCE TO CALAIS HARBOUR

some of Nature's features, and of man's perpetual struggle with her forces.

"Marine Dabblers" may perhaps have a touch of reminiscence in the group of little boys sailing their tiny boats under the shadow of the big ship; there may intentionally have been a sequence of thought between the one and the other.

"The Isis," published in 1810, belonging therefore to the earlier issue of the plates, shows a translation of thought to a widely different order of subject. It belongs to the group of Epic Pastoral—natural scenery interwoven with romantic or ornamental features. It has the same white peacock in the foreground that makes the distinctive high note of the margin of the frontispiece. The increasing light filling the whole centre of the sky, and spreading to the right, falls directly upon the water of the distance, and upon that of the nearer scene, thus unbrokenly conveying the eye of the spectator from the foreground to the horizon. From the groups of trees to the left the light is emerging from shadow, as in early morning. Both the white peacock and the little temple beyond the trees give, it may be supposed, the epic note, though the drawing is held to be a composition from the scenery of Petworth Park; for it was in this year that Turner first made the acquaintance of its owner, Lord Egremont, who afterwards became one of his most liberal patrons

ISIS

and devoted admirers. Both in the foliage of the trees and in the leafage of the foreground there are beautiful half-tones—an instance of gradation of which Turner was so complete a master.

There is the hint of dawn, or of day emerging from dawn, in "Hindoo Ablutions." It is cool in tone, and has an air of stillness, while there is some suggestion of religious ceremonial in the figures depicted.

"The Lake of Thun," amongst the Continental subjects, is an interesting instance of two combined atmospheric effects. Lightning is cleaving the sky; masses of dark storm-cloud are ranging in its upper region; yet underneath the dark wall of land, rising from the edge of the lake, boats are sailing tranquilly, as though moved by the gentlest of breezes; the difference between the upper and the lower portions of the subject may be taken as expressive of the largeness of Nature. As a composition it is full of fine curves and broad distribution of light and shade.

"The Mill near the Grand Chartreuse," although full of power, seems to tell of little but the roar of waters, and the sternness of Nature's overpowering strength in comparison with the smallness of man's resistance.

There are some of the numbers of the *Liber*, as there are some of Turner's noblest and most exquisite water-colours, in which the very spirit of

Nature seems to have entered and to have whispered to him her secrets. In the "Lake of Thun" we find this note sounded, but in the lovely drawings of Inverary Castle and Inverary Pier it reaches full expression. And there are others, as in this "Mill of the Grand Chartreuse," before which he seems to stand determined to win from Nature a solution of her meaning, but never getting nearer to her than her wonderful externals. The difference of impression made is so instant that it induces the question as to whether there must not have been something in the artist himself to account for it—whether the higher or the lower nature had the reins over his genius, and clouded or illumed the inward seeing.

To look at "Inverary Pier" is to feel that the great master of landscape has surrendered himself to the finest influences of Nature, so that the charm of it comes out in the pure glory of the early morning sky with the loveliness of the tender light upon the farther hills, at whose feet the loch lies, and in its stillness makes a placid mirror for the sky above. In the foreground, in the action of the men putting off in their boat, and in the disposition of the figures about the pier, is given the sense of the freshness of human effort; but the drawing throughout is pervaded with the feeling of the undimmed beauty of the early hours of day.

"Inverary Castle" has the same charm of fresh-

INVERARY PIER

ness, the same fulness of light, but here it falls upon the castle and the houses grouped at the edge of the farther water, and with loving touch seems to linger upon the circling hills. In this drawing there is more movement; it is a different hour of the day; the wind is in the sails of the incoming vessel; there is more of the air of the business of life about the foreground figures; yet it is all so open, so full and fair, that it seems to speak aloud of the hope, the fulness, and the sweetness of life.

"The Falls of the Clyde," one of the much admired subjects of the *Liber*, is a Turner in another mood; it is one of his brilliant adaptations of the quieter work of a former contemporary, to the end of impressing his own strength in composition. In this, as in other works of his elsewhere alluded to, local truth has had to give place to the artist's imaginative power of pictorial representation, and the result is a fine effect of light, breadth, and movement.

Although individual subjects taken by themselves may have a greater claim than others upon the admiration of the art-lover, it is only when a fine set of the *Liber* is seen collectively that a fitting idea can be gained of the meaning and importance of this one of Turner's most cherished works.

Considering the high prices paid for single sub-

jects and the enormous sums given now for complete sets, it seems strange to read that the *Liber* stopped because it was partially a financial failure. Some of Turner's biographers relate that it was thought at the time that he kept it back to give it notoriety; though, as Cunningham suggests, he may only have waited until the public should have a clearer understanding of it: the passage of time has now amply brought this about. It is even said, too, that the beautiful Richmondshire Series was a loss to the publishers.

Besides the fine sets of the *Liber* in public institutions, the British Museum, the National Gallery, and the South Kensington Collection, there are many beautiful and valuable sets in private collections. That of the late Mrs. Hollins, of Thornwood Lodge, Campden Hill, was especially notable as being nearly all first states, and amongst them a few engraver's proofs. This complete set was on view, as a loan collection, at Leighton House, for some time, and constantly elicited the admiration of the throngs of artistic-minded people who frequent this home of beautiful things —the purity of tone and the charm of suggestion of colour, maintained throughout, giving it a sense of distinction.

Another very fine set was that in the possession of the Rev. Stopford Brooke, now hung in the National Gallery of Ireland, to which institution

he has generously given it. It, too, has many of the beautiful qualities that distinguish that just described as being on view at Leighton House.

The South Kensington Collection, purchased from Dr. Percy, in 1865, for £500, contains eighty impressions, including a complete set of first states, and fifteen variations. Neither at South Kensington nor at the British Museum are the *Liber Studiorum* hung; the student has, therefore, a better opportunity of getting a collective impression of the importance of this work from exhibitions of complete sets. These opportunities are, however, only infrequently afforded. Several of the original drawings from which the engravings were made are preserved at the National Gallery.

CHAPTER VIII

THE RIVERS OF ENGLAND

The Rivers of England: Messrs. Cooke's publication—Description of the drawings: some of the most perfect of Turner's water-colours in this set—Incidental difference between Turner and Girtin in this set—Turner's great variety: series illustrates his love of England—The Rivers of France—Turner's grasp of the spirit of French scenery.

FOLLOWING upon the completion of the *Liber Studiorum*, or the abandonment of completion, for the work never really went on to its entirety, only seventy-one of the originally intended hundred plates being published, came the Rivers of England Series. They are generally placed between the Richmondshire drawings and those of England and Wales. Thus they range somewhere from 1823 to 1827. Whatever may be their exact date, the Rivers of England are, like the Southern Coast Scenery, always held to belong to Turner's best time. But as some of the first drawings of their subjects were made in company with Girtin, this at once places them, at least in their initial form, in Turner's early manhood. Many of Turner's finest things were,

however, produced from sketches and notes of colour that had long matured in his mind.

The Rivers of England are, like the Southern Coast Scenery, or, indeed, like any other of his fine sets of illustrations, an expression of his abiding love of English nature and his ideas of the comprehensiveness of her social and industrial life, as they relate alike to manufacturing city, lordly manor, ancient minster, or wide demesne. All are, however varied in treatment, in Turner's finest manner, and some, at least, exquisitely express the influence and the beauty of Nature.

This series was also one of the Messrs. Cooke's productions, and was called both the Rivers of England and River Scenery, possibly in explanation of some of the subjects, as, for instance, "Warkworth Castle" and "Arundel Castle" both represent scenes on the banks of rivers. Sixteen of the drawings are by Turner, three are by Girtin, and the rest by other well-known water-colour artists. As "Warkworth Castle" was exhibited by Turner in his Associate year, it may be surmised either that the project was long in hand, or that the proprietors were using material obtained at an earlier date. This would, of course, be the case with Girtin's views.

One of the most perfect of the Turner drawings is that of "Totnes on the Dart." No scene could be fuller of the sweetness, the nobility of Nature,

in her serenest mood. The Dart here makes a peaceful foreground, reflecting all the lovely hues of the trees and banks above it. The sea-birds disport themselves on the edge of the nearer water as though they were at home. The grove of slender poplars throw their shadows and repeat their colours in its clear depths. All the whole circle of beauty above it is mirrored in the sleeping river; yet many as are the tints, so exquisitely do they blend that the eye is at once taken, as the ear might be captivated by a delightful harmony. The warm colouring of the outspread sail resting against the rich foliage of the bank above it is in itself a thing to entrance the artistic sense. The picture is full of light; it bathes the houses close to the water; it lies softly upon the sweep of country beyond, diversified with grove, and church, and castle; and it centres in the lovely sky, full of the gentle movement of a thousand little clouds. We feel that it must have been painted for very love of its beauty; and we know that it is so full of charm, because Turner is here the reverent interpreter of Nature, and lets the scene speak to him.

The greater number of Turner's critics speak of him as the greatest of landscape painters because he so frequently creates the scene he paints; yet inferentially, by the praise they give him, they proclaim him to be at his best when he exhibits

TOTNESS ON THE DART

the same qualities as Girtin exhibited—those that go to the heart, that appeal to the inner sense of beauty, scenes to which his lovers return again and again.

In connection with this thought may here be mentioned "York Minster on the River Foss"—one of the three illustrations by Girtin in this series. The solemn and exquisite peace of it is to be felt at once—it is full of speech of its own. The Minster raises its tender and stately beauty against the sky. The soul of the artist is here so in accord with Nature that every charm of her gentle mood is impressed upon the beholder. Had Turner been in one of his strong or, it might be called, dramatic moments, with this subject he would have made a more striking effect; but he could not, as Cosmo Monkhouse has said, "do as Girtin did, and leave us alone with the cathedral." And if we contrast Turner's and Girtin's drawings of "The Ruin of Kirkstall Abbey," on the River Aire, in Yorkshire, both in this series, we shall find the fine picturesque effect with Turner, and the peace of Nature with Girtin. Turner's is full of impetuous life, expressed, as it were, in the very accent of its fulness of colour, as the weir rushes and tumbles on, and the cows wend along in the foreground, and the wind tosses the branches of the trees. It seems to be the hour of sunset, and there is a fine scope in the sky and distance, but

the ruin of the abbey does not impress one as having other significance than that of being an effective object in the picture. In the tranquillity of Girtin's drawing, in which the softness of the air can be felt, the ruin sensibly takes the thoughts back to the life of the past. Turner's "Kirkstall Lock" is a piece of rich colour; it has the effect of after-sunset glow; it is from a different point of view, and in it the abbey is lower, and removed from foreground effect.

The beautiful drawing of "Norham Castle," on the Tweed, is in this series, with its blue-purple mass of shadow against the golden background of sky, whose warmth is repeated in the colours of the foreground group of cattle. It is derived from the sketch which supplied the finished picture exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1799, and is, as he was wont to say, the subject to which all his after-success was due.

"Warkworth Castle," whose ruggedness of treatment, and dark, almost monochromatic, yet rich colouring betokens his earlier manner, is now to be found amongst the Turner Water-colours in the South Kensington Art Galleries.

In "The Humber" a grand sweep of wave of a rich green hue, and a fine effect of freedom in the cloud and the upper sky, give it distinctive character—the cloud making a sort of archway, through which the light seen beyond is enhanced

by the force of contrast. In this result we have an instance of that mastery of the disposition of his material which Turner has so strikingly exemplified in many of his larger pictures.

"More Park on the River Colne," near Watford, is full of peace and softness, in a gentle, almost gleeful, mood of sunshine, in a pleasing scheme of colour, suited to the unaccentuated scenery of the manor and its demesne.

"Rochester on the Medway" is taken from the same sketch, and may possibly be a duplication of the early drawing published in 1794. The rich colouring and effective grouping of the foreground boats stand out strongly against the city and distance; with the exception that the city is behind them and the boats more in the centre of the scene, the composition is not unlike that of "Sandgate Creek" in this series; although that has also its own distinct charm of colour and atmosphere.

"Dartmouth Castle" is one of Turner's joyous representations of country life in his favourite Devonshire. It is bright in tone throughout, and the grouping of the people in the foreground gives them the holiday air of a summer outing. Dartmouth itself is one of the most picturesque of these river scenes, for here the houses are climbing up the nearer steep, and the hills come down to the water's edge, and the sails seem to

stand against them, and there are glimpses of ships receding along the course of the Dart as it is seen curving through the landscape.

"Arundel Castle on the Arun" has the lovely effect of outstretching distance lent by the stream, on which the white sail is drifting out of sight, wandering through the landscape. It is charming in colour, with background tints of delicate purple; up the soft green bank to the right a herd of deer are racing, while in the foreground a number are gently resting. An air of freshness and sweetness pervades the picture as a whole.

"Newcastle-on-Tyne" is full of wonderful atmospheric effects. Turner has taken full advantage of its smokiness, even as it existed in his time, to evolve a marvellous mist-world. Under his sunset treatment the armies of mist seem to coil, to separate, to meet again, and arrange themselves in the strangest forms. The fine scheme of this drawing is furthermore accentuated by strong notes of colour in the foreground. Local accuracy has, so it is averred by those who speak with authority on the subject, been tossed wholly to the winds; for the river has been brought to the centre that the high banks on either side may leave open space for the glories of the distance. But as a composition in which the artist has allowed his imagination free scope, it is imposingly fine.

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE

The companion picture, if it may so be called, "Shields-on-the-Tyne," has, however, an even more dramatic effect, for here the full moon is rising in all her glory, throwing her white radiance along the pathway of the river, which here makes the great open centre of the picture. And wherever her light falls it is contrasted with the vivid red and the yellow artificial lights thrown by the torches of the men who are at their night-work amongst the mass of material in the foreground to the right. The effect thus given to their movements is so striking that it gives them something of the air of demoniac spirits. It is weird, but the impression it makes is powerful and instant.

From the descriptions here given an idea may be gained of the variety of mood and treatment to be found in the drawings that came from Turner's hand; for, along with broad characteristics, they express so many of the individualities of English river scenes.

It is indeed well, both for the delight of the art-lover and for the student of some of the very finest things in landscape painting, that these exquisite pictures are all to be found in the Turner Water-colour Room at the National Gallery. And as one fine harmony after another passes before the eye, one cannot but be impressed by the diversity of the genius that could make one glory of the "Totnes" and quite another of the "New-

castle." The difference lies not alone in the convincing way in which the unlike spirit of each place is rendered, although this is one of the great tests of the true artist, but in the striking difference of the manner of treatment. For here we have the Turner of one manner and the Turner of the other as strongly exemplified as in his earlier changes of style. Yet, striking as are their differences, the uniting link of character is never lost: they are always English in sentiment and expression. Compare them with the Rivers of France, another delightful set of views from his hand, also to be found in the Water-colour Room, and the change of feeling, of accent, in form and colour, is felt at once; and each series is felt to be almost equally expressive of its country's character. For Turner's critics hold that he assimilated the spirit of France in only a less degree than that of his native land; claiming for him, as a great merit, that he did so much to reveal French scenery to English eyes. Ruskin says of all foreign countries in which Turner painted, that France was the only one whose feeling in scenery he ever really grasped. So it may be held that his treatment of the Rivers of France only intensifies the strength of his possession of the qualities of English landscape.

CHAPTER IX

TURNER'S GREAT TIME IN ART

Turner's great time in art—Description of some of the famous oil paintings: their differences — The quiet charm of "Abingdon"—His affection for his "Frosty Morning"—His biblical and classical subjects—"London from Greenwich"—"Dido Building Carthage" painted in rivalry of Claude—Its loss of tone—List of other well-known pictures—"Bligh Sand": its loss of colour—Turner refuses to sell it to Sir George Beaumont—Turner tries to learn Greek: cannot overcome its difficulties—"Crossing the Brook"—Pictures of Italy—Ruskin's divisions of Turner's periods.

THE *Liber Studiorum*, the Southern Coast Scenery, the Rivers of England, the fine Richmondshire Series, and other notable illustrative works, important as they are in showing the variety and the inexhaustiveness of Turner's genius, by no means complete his service to art, in this, widely recognised as his great, his most expressive period. The beautiful water-colours, to which all his best intuitions belong, now to be seen in the South Kensington and National Galleries, as well as the hundreds of scattered gems found in private collections, were produced within the stretch of time indicated.

Many of his great oil paintings were the gifts of these fruitful years, and some also, as the pleasing "Abingdon," although not claiming first rank as masterpieces, still have an enduring hold upon the mind of his admirers. "Abingdon," belonging to the earlier part of his great time, is a scene so purely English that it seems to express the very spirit that breathes through England's country life, and must have been painted, one would say, for very love of it. Turner's treatment of this subject gives it a strength of quiet appeal. The sun has not yet dispersed the mists, and the landscape has all the freshness and charm of early morning. The spire showing above the clustering woods in the distance, the motionless sails of the boats grouped beneath the bank, and overlooking the water, to which the cows come slowly winding down to drink, the people busy about the carts, are all suggestive of the peaceful life of a quiet spot.

"Kingston on the Thames" and "The Bank with Gipsies," both in the National Gallery, belong to the earlier part of this time, and both are pictures that have their especial lovers. His "Frosty Morning: Sunrise," exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1813, a favourite picture with the public always, is one of which he himself was extremely fond—possibly because there were pleasant associations connected with its produc-

ABINGDON

tion, and it always had, like Margate, though for quite different reasons, a personal appeal to his memory. It was painted while he was at Sandycombe Lodge, the first sketch being taken while he was out upon one of his early morning excursions; one of the two horses in the cart by the roadside is narrated to have been painted from his own staid pony, which he lent for the occasion, to make the picture more effective. Turner was noted for his casual friendships with the countrymen he came upon by chance when exploring the district for subjects for his brush, and he had often little anecdotes to tell of the impromptu breakfasts and dinners, arranged upon the spot, which he helped to prepare, and enjoyed to the utmost. "The Frosty Morning," with its descriptive line from Thomson's *Seasons*—

> "The rigid hoar frost melts before his beam,"

has the appeal of an inspiriting atmosphere. The keen freshness of the air can be felt; it is full of lifelike colour, and like many of his pictures that retain their hold upon the affections, it has but few elements; the groups by the roadside, and the stage-coach approaching from the distance, being its chief features, yet the beholder gets from it a strong sense of healthful life.

While producing these enduring descriptions of English landscape, he was also busily engaged

with his classical and biblical subjects. "The Deluge," inspired, it may be assumed from the underlying inscription, by the powerful word-picture in *Paradise Lost*, appeared in the same year as the "Frosty Morning." The following year saw "Dido and Æneas leaving Carthage on the Morning of the Chase," and "Apuleia in Search of Apuleius," the former suggested by the scene described in Dryden's translation of the fourth book of the "Æneid," and for an explanation of the latter reference is made to Ovid's *Metamorphoses;* but Turner's allusions to classic authors are not very discriminating, and the incident of his picture may be set down to his own invention; while there can be but little doubt that the extensive landscape of the picture has been compounded to suit the story. "Apuleia in Search of Apuleius" was painted for the Earl of Egremont, of Petworth Park, Sussex, and was afterwards exhibited at the British Institution. It is now in the Turner Collection at the National Gallery.

"London from Greenwich," also in the collection, is equally held to belong to the earlier part of Turner's great period. It was painted somewhere about 1809 for Mr. Fawkes, of Farnley Hall, Yorkshire, but was afterwards exchanged by the painter, who, in the interest of the bequest he destined for the nation, frequently desired to recall works of his pencil that, upon after-con-

LONDON FROM GREENWICH

sideration, seemed to him ought to make part of it. "London from Greenwich" has the interest of being the most complete picture painted by Turner of the great city. It is all in the distance, still its size may be gathered from the great sweep of spires and towers seen through the curtains of mist, and gathered also from the busy life upon the breast of the Thames as it winds midway between the famous hospital, surrounded by its park, in which the deer are quietly grazing, and the city in the distance. This picture has less than Turner's usual space and extent, owing to the foreground being occupied largely with the building, but it gives a full idea of the movement of the wind. It is interesting also as being one of the subjects of the *Liber Studiorum*.

In 1815 Turner exhibited three of his best-known pictures—"Bligh Sand," "Crossing the Brook," and "Dido Building Carthage." The last-named is one of the painter's large canvases, and is a rich and varied composition. It has the sun in the centre—an arrangement to be frequently seen in Turner's later paintings, and also in "The Sun Rising in a Mist"—and in all making an effective display of light, especially when reflected, as in this, in the water below; this, being a river scene, gives full opportunity for variety of detail—with the bridge in front, the crowding buildings, the high banks, and the many figures surrounding

the queen. This is one of the two pictures, the companion to "The Sun Rising in a Mist," bequeathed by Turner to the nation, on condition that they should be hung between two "Claudes"; and doubtless it was in emulation of Claude that Turner first conceived the effectiveness of a vivid central light. Like many of his other great oil paintings, the values of this imposing picture are best obtained in fine production—engraving or photogravure—for the colours are fast getting thick and dark, and its original richness of tone can only now be surmised. Even as far back as Thornbury's time of writing, he speaks of the atmosphere as having become hot and full of vapours, and the colour as dull and heavy beside the purity of Claude, whose brilliancy of tint it was painted to eclipse. Though whether the much to be deplored loss of colour in the great Turners is to be set down to the painter's besetting sin of meanness in using cheap paints, or whether to his ignorance in not knowing where to obtain the best, has not yet been determined.

"The Decline of the Carthaginian Empire" followed in 1817; "The Field of Waterloo" in 1818; and "The *Meuse*, Orange Merchantman, going to pieces on the Bar" in 1819. This is the one to which Ruskin's words have reference when he speaks of "great ships going to pieces that oranges of Covent Garden may float upon the

BLIGH SANDS

waves." "England," "Richmond Hill on the Prince Regent's Birthday," also belong to this year, though possibly both were painted at an earlier date, as this was the year in which Turner made his first visit to Italy; of which visit the results were seen in the next year's exhibition of "Rome from the Vatican," taking in the Piazza of St. Peter's in its wide view of the city, and showing the Apennines in the distance, and "Rome, the Arch of Titus," one of the chief features of the latter being the winding along of a religious procession. To this painting are appended two descriptive stanzas from "Childe Harold's Pilgrimage." The former was exhibited at the Royal Academy, and the latter, now in the Turner Collection, was retained in his own house.

Of the two purely English pictures of the year 1815, "Bligh Sand" and "Crossing the Brook," both have full claims upon the interest and admiration they have always received. "Bligh Sand, near Sheerness, Fishing Boats Trawling," although one of Turner's smaller oil paintings, has always much attracted the attention of his critics, the impression it makes of atmosphere and of Nature's mood being very strong, and its component parts few and simple. In this quiet picture of a reach of water at the mouth of the Thames we seem to be in a world of subdued light, to which the dark edge of the upper sky

and the shadows upon the foreground are like a frame. This arrangement of shade seems to give a great sense of distance to the central sky and farthest water, whilst the highest light on the horizon, filled as it is with the sails of the far-off boats, produces the actual effect of open air, an effect increased by the dark sail of the foreground boat standing straight up against the light. Very real, too, are the gulls skimming over the sandy beach of the foreground.

In studying this picture, the beholder may be tempted to ask—Where is now the fulness of subdued light, once decreed to make its great charm? Yet this is the impression made by the fine early engraving of this picture in the Turner Gallery at South Kensington. From such exquisite reproduction as this it is not difficult to imagine what "Bligh Sand" must have been in all its first freshness. Of "Bligh Sand" Thornbury also writes deploring its increasing darkness, which he surmises must be a result of Turner's use of the dangerous sugar of lead in the production of its lights.

"Bligh Sand," although painted like "London from Greenwich" in 1809, was not exhibited at the Royal Academy till 1815. It would seem then to have been the first picture of Turner's of which Sir George Beaumont, the noted art patron, coveted the possession, and he at once wished to

DIDO AND ÆNEAS LEAVING CARTHAGE UPON THE MORNING OF THE CHASE

become its purchaser; but Turner, now powerful and popular, remembering how coldly Sir George had stood aloof from the public praise of his other works, and how especially ardent had been his admiration for Claude, declined to allow the picture to be sold, and retained it in his private gallery. It must not be forgotten that Turner had then his own especial patron in the Earl of Egremont, and that as early as 1810 he began to visit Petworth Park for the purpose of painting some of the fine pictures that still adorn its noted gallery. That some of his water-colour drawings are studies of some of its different rooms, and that he found a good deal of inspiration in its scenery, whose influence, too, may be seen in the *Liber Studiorum,* is proof that Petworth Park was one of his chief resources.

It was somewhere about this time, and in relation to his classical pictures, and especially to "Dido and Æneas Riding to the Chase," that Turner made the resolve to learn Greek, that he might paint a Greek picture inspired from original description; and the Rev. Mr. Trimmer, the vicar in the vicinity of Brentford, mention of whose close friendship for the great painter has already been made, elected to endeavour to teach him; but the attempt had, after a short trial, to be abandoned. Turner had no gift for languages, and no patience with the initial difficulties of the

task; but after that, Mr. Trimmer constituted himself Turner's adviser and helper in things classical, though without apparently very greatly modifying the painter's preconceived ideas of the classical themes he chose to represent.

"Crossing the Brook," holding, as it does, the place of honour amongst the Turners at the National Gallery, is one that has always had a strong hold upon public favour. It was exhibited at the Royal Academy in the same year as "Bligh Sand," although the original drawing for the picture was made in Devonshire on the banks of the Tamar a few years earlier. In the picture the Tamar is seen dividing Devonshire from Cornwall. One is instantly impressed with the extensiveness of the landscape—it has so much in it of the feeling of open country. The bridge in the mid-distance adds to the sense of distance, as it helps to make it so far off. The colouring throughout is warm and pleasant, and everywhere there is largeness of touch. The foreground brook tends to the happy completion of the idea of a large landscape. The two girls and the dog carrying the bundle in his mouth across the brook, although not essential to the scene, give it an interesting human note. It is possible they were there at the time the sketch was made, and that Turner, as in many other instances, and notably in that of "Barnes Terrace," saw in such accidental adjuncts a means

CROSSING THE BROOK

to complete the fulness of his subject. In this instance the foreground group makes a sort of basis for carrying the thoughts onward over a wide range of country.

After the visit to Italy in 1819 Turner's pictures of historical subjects, or pictures of historic places with classic figures added, all show a new and brilliant sense of colour, and a great increase of clearness in the quality of the light. With the painting of these two Roman pictures—"Rome, from the Vatican" and "Rome, the Arch of Titus," the earliest results of his first Italian tour, Turner reaches the end of the first three periods into which Ruskin has divided his work. Of the first he says: "From 1800 to 1820, when I consider that he laboured as a student, copying various old masters. The next period, from 1820 to 1830, when he worked on the principles discovered as a student, and made beautiful and ideal compositions instead of transcripts from Nature. From 1836 to 1845, abandoning the ideal and returning to his own simple impressionism of Nature." The first part of this judgment may, in part, have reference to Turner's persistent rivalry of Claude, and earlier of Vandeveldt and Nicolas Poussin, to whose pictures we are said to owe "The Garden of the Hesperides"; or he may mean that up to this time Turner was continually receiving fresh im-

pressions from Nature and Art—that his mind was fully open to ideas—that he strove to see the meaning of the scene he painted as well as to present its outward aspect. But in this sense every artist worthy of the name is a student to the end of his life, for directly he ceases to see and to receive impressions from the life around him, his productions lack the living element, and become mere copies or echoes of his former doings. That Turner was himself to a certain degree an example of this arrest of development in his last years some of his works afford abundant proof. Owing, it would seem, to physical degeneration he lost intellectual control, and despite some seasons of fitful power, he for the most part produced pictures which, because of his almost instinctive knowledge of fundamentals, had always the signs of great art, but could not be called masterpieces, because they lacked both leading idea and balance in treatment. But it is difficult in Turner's case to set a rigid mark to a change of style, or to exactly indicate the line of a new departure. It is generally admitted that his first visit to Italy seemed to awaken in him all the distinctive ardour of the colourist, and that henceforward he made colour more and more the vehicle of his ideas is abundantly evident in the work of his after-time; and in this sense he may be said to be less of a student than before, because all his schemes

of colour seem to spring from his own intuitions, and in their working out he has no master's method before his eyes.

But looking along the line of his productions, it is no exaggeration to say that up to 1820 he was both master and student, and perhaps the greater master that he was so ardently a student. It is as well in this view to consider a number of his water-colours specially distinguished for their possession of the supreme note of beauty, before turning to the later oils, in which colour and imagination play so large a part.

CHAPTER X

SOME OF TURNER'S WATER-COLOURS

Turner's water-colours at South Kensington—"A View of the Thames": its exquisite harmony—"View of a French Town": warmth of colouring—"Hornby Castle": other English scenes—The great charm of his water-colours, their enduring beauty—"Loch Long: Morning"—The Harbours of England: his last series—Delay in their publication: description of the drawings—Some water-colours in a private collection: a proof of Turner's eccentricity—One belonging to Mr. H. B. Brabazon.

THERE are many of Turner's water-colours which, although they may have originally belonged to some series or group, we are now accustomed to regard as individual paintings containing within themselves the whole reasons for their production. There are hundreds of such treasures, such as the beautiful "Ivy Bridge," and the noble "Edinburgh, from Calton Hill," to be found in Turner's Water-colour Room at the National Gallery; though none have greater claims to charm and distinction than those that make the small but varied collection, chiefly from the Sheepshanks Bequest, at South Kensington. There

VIEW OF THE THAMES

are to be found examples of styles from almost the earliest to the latest time. For here are "Tintern Abbey," described earlier in these pages as belonging to the first restricted order of colouring, "Malmesbury Abbey," and an early "Waterfall," and on through the dark power of "Warkworth Castle" to the latest magical combinations of colour.

"A View of the Thames," which by its exquisite workmanship and intrinsic beauty is stamped as belonging to his finest period, stands as a proof of the few elements needed by the master-hand to produce perfection. Such fulness and sweetness of light has it in the open sky, such a tender sweep of lovely distance, such a charm of commingling warmth and coolness in the broad stretch of foreground water, that it comes before you like a piece of Nature herself. The river is almost still. The low-lying land beyond the farther margin of the water has the human suggestion in the many-windowed house, with its length of shadow looking down upon its lawn; under the full leafiness of the group of big trees on the nearer bank the people are passing, and these, with all the soft reflections in the water beneath, make the sum of its materials. It is a picture composed in a quiet key; an underlying grey pervades all its blues and greens, but the warmth looks through them; and it is as exquisite for its beautiful soft

colouring and the purity of its tones, as for the spirit of tenderness with which it is permeated, as though love had guided the brush.

The "View of a French Town" belongs to a different order of colouring, and a different method of production. It shows a masterly effect of dazzling tints, as though all the hues had been put on with one sweep of the brush, thus making all the local characteristics stand out in a blaze of light. A corresponding Continental subject is the "Lake of Brientz"—a vision of warmth obtained by the use of related reds and browns, with, through their midst, a glimmer of blue water. This is one of the many instances in which Turner keeps his objects in place by his arrangement of warm and cold colours; for the people, the characteristics of the place, its details, seem to fittingly impress themselves through the medium of these contrasted reds and blues.

"Hornby Castle" is so full of light and the delicate blending of bright colours that it has all the effect of a dainty strain of music—it seems to be possessed with the fulness of refined gaiety. It evidently belongs to the time of Turner's arrangement of light harmonies, for it is full of objects which do not seem to suggest the idea of crowding by reason of the quality of the atmosphere in which they are absorbed. "Hornby Castle" may be said to be descriptive of Ruskin's

judgment of a "beautiful and ideal composition instead of a transcript from Nature," that is to say, in this picture Turner attuned the materials of Nature to a sentiment then uppermost in his own mind. Yet the beautiful "View of the Thames" is assuredly direct impressionism from Nature—receiving in full the charm of her aspect, and the meaning behind the expression—and of the two pictures it would be difficult to say whether the latter has not the more sustained strength and beauty.

The little picture of "Babylon" seems, by its effective arrangement of the central group, by its grasp of the essential qualities of the atmosphere and colouring, and by the presentation of that strange emptiness of sky that is so full of meaning, to bring all the character of the East before us in its few inches of space.

"The Angel troubling the Pool" might be the impression of a dream, so insubstantial is it; yet out of such a mingling of different colours, seen through a veil of light, the idea of the subject seems to be expressed without recourse to actual form. From this indefiniteness of treatment it should therefore belong to his latest period when he outlined his ideas in colour alone.

As an instance of his effective suggestion of locality and atmosphere in the merest strokes and touches there is the "View of a Town," nothing

but a few pencil marks showing through a wash of colour.

"The Bridge over the Usk," one of the larger of these distinctive water-colours, has a delightful distance, and the wide stretch of land of the middle distance is full of genial representation of peaceful country life. The quiet scheme of its colouring is full of warmth. This picture induces the sense of harmoniousness both in its graduated tints and in the sentiment of quietude with which it is pervaded, for even the blue smoke marking the passage of the train as it speeds through the smiling country seems to speak of its remoteness from noise and the bustle of living.

Besides some other lovely studies of Thames scenery and some notable Continental sketches, arranged on this wall space, there is the bright and inspiriting little picture of "Plymouth, from Mount Batten." The keynote of this painting is the abandonment to the mood of enjoyment, and it seems to be all derived from the shining of the sun. It pervades the harbour, gay with the white sails of many boats—it is to be felt in the merry groups of people, all wearing a holiday air, on the shore—in the bright blue of the water, and the warm tints of the land. There is, too, a wide range of life implied in the view of the church and farm buildings in the distance, in the sheep browsing contentedly on the knolls, and the wheatsheaves

PLYMOUTH FROM MOUNT BATTEN

coming almost down to the water. The highest expression of light is in the sky, and from the sky emanate all the warmth and brightness of the earth lying below. This "Plymouth" seems to express a sentiment often to be found in Turner's pictures; to wit, how happy this England is when the sun shines, and humanity has been impelled to abandon its cares and give itself over to the homely joys of the hour. It is possible this picture may have formed one of the subjects of either the Southern Coast Scenery or the Ports and Harbours Series, since it appears as an illustration in both. It is not always easy to say with certainty at what time any particular water-colour of Turner's was painted, or under what circumstances it first made its appearance, now that the different series to which individual pictures may have belonged are broken up. There are many isolated drawings in the Catalogue of the National Gallery, such as "Dover," "Portsmouth," "Hythe," that must at one time have made part of one or other of the above series. It is possible also that some of the lovely Thames scenery may have made part of the fine Richmondshire group; or the delightful views of loch or mountain to some of the sets illustrative of Scotland. But as his water-colours spread over the greater part of his life they may approximately be assigned to different periods by the tests of style and treatment and by the ex-

pression of colour. In this respect their enduringness of colour gives us a better idea of their first perfection as they appeared fresh from the painter's hand than may be gathered from some of the great oil paintings.

Like the "View on the Thames," there can then be no difficulty in assigning "Loch Long: Morning" to Turner's finest period; for it shows us the painter in one of his loftiest moods—when the hand was in perfect accord with the mind's command. It is a picture, one might say, composed of the tenderest greys transfused throughout with pearl-like lights. It is larger in size than the beautiful "Thames," and has even fewer elements. An empty sky of opalescent light, and a range of hills with that hush of stillness about them, as though still veiled with the dew of early morning. They seem to be folded about with the shades of dawn as though just emerging into the light. These, with the foreground water and the few figures about the little pier, make the chief sum of its materials. The correspondence of tone throughout this picture is perfect; it is all in grey, with a hint of purple in the nearest hill. Like a dream the pale sand of the foreground, and the boat in mid-water seems to be still asleep. The silence of the hour and the purity of Nature in her quietude seem through this scene to speak of the peace away from the world.

LOCH LONG, MORNING

The Harbours of England, although many of their subjects have been already treated under other groupings in these pages, have still to be noted as a series, because they have the interest attached to them of being the last illustrative work that Turner undertook. He had intended to make this set of the Harbours of England of far more importance, and far grander in scope, than the Southern Coast Scenery; but possibly because the shadow of decline was then first beginning to creep across his life his intention was not always supported by his will; he procrastinated to such an extent that at his death the scheme was very far from completion, only twelve subjects being finished, and of these not all are equally important places. Ruskin, who made notes for this series when it first appeared in 1856, speaks of Lupton, Turner's engraver, as being also under the dominion of the procrastinating habit, and, although a fine artist, and in this respect fitted wholly to carry out the painter's intentions, still as being a very potent cause of the delay. "Scarborough," "Whitby," "Sheerness," are among the best of these views, and with reference to the Yorkshire scenes, it may be noted that Ruskin elsewhere speaks of Turner's Yorkshire drawings as "having the most heart in them." It was in Yorkshire, it may be remembered, according to Ruskin, that Turner received his first great impulse from

Nature, and the country itself had always great attractions for him by reason of the kindness and attention he at all times received from Mr. Fawkes, of Farnley Hall; the reasons for the warmth of sentiment and the strenuousness of life with which he invested his Yorkshire scenes are not then far to seek. "Sheerness, seen from the Horn" is an open picture, with no hint of stormy feeling in its lovely serenity. It is filled with subdued light, received from its noble sky; for even the bank of clouds, from behind which the light proceeds, does not show the darkness, by means of which Turner so often produces fine contrasted effects. Several ships, one in soft shadow, whose sails make lovely curves against the sky, are the chief foreground objects. It is a scene full of tender gradations of shade.

"Dover," in this series, is a fine composition, though as usual with Turner, when dealing with this subject, all exaggerated as far as locality goes. It has a magnificent sky and a restless sea; bold cliffs looking over the town; and has throughout that fine sweep of light and arrangement of shade with which the great master knew so well how to produce an imposing effect.

"Ramsgate" has the distinction of a great space of light in the sky to the right, relieved by a mass of dark to the left, and against the mass of dark the white sails are lifted high on the crest

of a great wave sweeping in to the foreground. All the curves of this picture are full of force and boldness.

"Plymouth" here has the usual array of boats, but in this representation the sky is dark, as though a storm had just passed over, and the sun is only suggested by the span of the rainbow showing against the clouds, and producing a fine atmospheric effect; but of this fine effect Turner can hardly be called the originator, as his own design was made from a fine sketch of the place by W. S. Cousins.

The "Portsmouth" of the Harbours is a composition full of freedom and boldness, with the waves tossing riotously, and the winds swelling the sails of the ships. The sky is very fine, with the clouds in large, loose masses; the town itself is just indicated in the light coming from beyond them.

"Deal," in this series, is quietly treated, and has an air of trimness and neatness; there is something pleasantly Dutch in this drawing.

Of the drawings themselves, Ruskin remarks that they are in reality sea-pieces, and "that one is as good as another," and that in all he shows his mastery in composition.

Turner's water-colours, English and Continental, would take volumes to describe in detail, even though the description should be limited to those

located in well-known galleries and in important private collections. In relation to the latter, although in single instances they have been retained in the possession of the same family from one generation to another, they have in the majority of cases changed hands so often that for accurate information as to their whereabouts, the inquirer can only be directed to the catalogues of Christie and Manson's sales, as this kind of interchange is always going on.

Until quite lately there was in the possession of the late Mrs. Hollins, of Thornwood Lodge, Campden Hill, besides an exquisite sea-piece, a translucent sea of pale, clear, blue water, with the sails of the many ships catching the golden light of the clouds, and throughout a delightful sense of air and movement, an Italian landscape, evidently a composition. This lovely little work, so expressive of light, colour, and atmosphere, has the somewhat curious distinction of being only one-part occupant of the frame, for on the picture being reversed, there is found an almost equally lovely little sea-piece, with that translucent green water that Turner knew so well how to paint. In this manner the Italian picture was purchased direct from Turner by its former possessor, Sir John Herschel, he not being aware of his double possession until he had received it. This is possibly only another instance of Turner's economy

of material. The picture has to be left upon an easel, so that it may be turned round for the view on the other side.

Mr. H. B. Brabazon, himself a noted artist, has in his possession a rather rare specimen of one of Turner's methods in water-colour, "The Falls of Schaffhausen." It is described in Sir W. Armstrong's book as "about 2 × 12, sketch on stained paper, the lights of the waterfall rubbed out, grey with only a trace of colour." In accordance with the owner's wish, this description is repeated here. It is evidently an early drawing.

CHAPTER XI

CHANGES IN TURNER'S LIFE

Changes in Turner's life consequent upon the death of his father—Gradual deterioration of his work—Description of pictures of Italy—"Ulysses deriding Polyphemus"—Other classical subjects—The "Burial of Sir David Wilkie"—"The *Old Temeraire*"—Turner's supremacy in landscape—His glory in colour—His poem, *The Fallacies of Hope*—His second visit to Italy—Illustration of Sir Walter Scott's, Moore's, and Rogers' poems—Pictures of light: "Line Fishing off Hastings," "Royal Yacht Squadron at Cowes," "St. Michael's Mount"; paintings upon a white ground—The Venetian pictures—"Golden Visions."

AFTER his father's death, in 1829, Turner would appear to have lost hold of the central idea of home, to which he had clung during the long years that they were together. From that time he would seem to have become a wanderer, quite as much from a sense of inward restlessness and from a want of anchorage as from the desire to enlarge his experiences in the interests of art. There can be no doubt that the wrench was to him a very severe one. He had always pressing need of someone personally near to him on whom to spend the silent affection that lived under his

reserved manner. Then his father's keen pride in all his great achievements had been soothing to his mind—it had been good for him, in that it had always been an incentive to fresh performance. He had now no one, keenly interested in the mere doing, to work for. Henceforth he must substitute the general interest for the personal one. For though he had some few devoted friends amongst those who were artists themselves, who watched his work with the closest attention, he was himself so much under the dominion of the habits of old associations, that he could not readily adapt his mode of life to the ways of others. He had never, as far as any record of the matter remains, felt any interest in members either of his father's or his mother's families ; he had practically, therefore, no one belonging to him, and he had no longer any purpose in keeping up a house, for after his father's death he was, apparently, very rarely to be found in his house in Queen Anne Street—it had become a mere storing place for his pictures.

It has been hinted in some of the accounts of Turner's life that he had been blamed by intimate friends for his father's removal from Sandycombe Lodge to London—the father would seem to have fretted very much over the transition, for there he had been happily at home, and he appears to have found it impossible to take root again, although he lingered for nearly three years after the sale of

Sandycombe Lodge in 1826. Cosmo Monkhouse relates that Turner sold the place chiefly because his father was "always catching cold in the garden." But he may, none the less, have been troubled by the result, and any such reflection would naturally add to the burden of his discomfort. From these causes, or it may be from others unknown, there can be no doubt that his life began to deteriorate from this time; and the effect of it appeared, not constantly, nor yet markedly for some time to come, but occasionally in his work. But by degrees this order of things insensibly altered for the worse. Whereas his lapses had been occasional, and his devotion to the best the main rule of his life, the return in his latter years became the occasional circumstance; and it is the comment of more than one of his critics that from 1830 the quality of the whole sum of his work deteriorated because he had fallen under lowering influences. These things have to be noted in any attempt to understand the reason of the falling off of power and purpose in his latter productions, since it was not overwork, nor yet the corroding influence of bitter poverty, that brought on Turner's decay at an age far less than that at which great artists of the present retain all the vigour of their prime of life.

In taking up the tale of his oil paintings from 1829, after the first visit to Italy, when he had

BAY OF BAIE: APOLLO AND THE SIBYL

still more than a decade of the best time of his art-life before him, we may see how from thence the change from his perfect mastery of the vehicle of colour to his thraldom to its idea is made evident in his work.

It has been claimed for Turner's later works—at least, by his earlier critics—that they are so much more poetic and imaginative than the productions of the first part of his great period. They institute a comparison in this respect between "Calais Pier," "The Sun Rising in a Mist," and "Crossing the Brook," and those of the later, "The Bay of Baiæ," "Childe Harold's Pilgrimage," and "The *Old Temeraire*." The last named are certainly different, because the element of colour plays so much greater a part in their complete expressiveness; they are less robust in the presentation of their objects because these are seen through a more diffused sense of light.

It was evident that his first visit to Italy brought about a complete revolution of his ideas with respect to the realm of colour. From thence dates the time of his richest, his magical, and oftentimes his extravagant achievements.

"The Bay of Baiæ: Apollo and the Sibyl," exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1823, and now part of the Turner Collection at the National Gallery, is magnificent in colour and in distance, though the colouring is now held to be almost dim

in comparison with the glory of its early days. The landscape has been composed with a view to its spaciousness and its charm of variety, and it finely represents the lovely contour of the bay that Horace declared to be the most beautiful in the world. It was painted from one of the drawings made on the spot, and can only therefore be held to be a composition in the sense of arrangement of its features, and in the introduction of the figures that have relation to part of its title.

Italian scenes, or incidents that have relation to Italian life, now became Turner's most frequent subjects. The "Scene from Boccaccio," "The Loretta Necklace," each with its beauties of landscape, "A View of Orvieto," with all its rich foreground colouring, and with the town lying away in the light of the distance, were all exhibited in 1829; while "Caligula's Palace and Bridge," with its sunrise behind the ruin, and some of the laboured lines of his own *Fallacies of Hope* appended to it by way of description, appeared in 1831; and "Childe Harold's Pilgrimage," with a Canto from Byron's poem in illustration of its title, in 1832. In this fine picture the representation of both modern and ancient Italy seem to be combined. The ancient ruin speaks of the one, the convent and town of the other. It has the glorious sunset that he learnt to paint in Italy, in which all things seemed to be steeped in warm and living

light. It impresses one as being a study from the land itself, and an idea from the poem.

His "Regulus Leaving Rome" was painted in Rome in 1829, and exhibited at the British Institution in 1837; and after this came the long succession of the wonderful Venetian pictures, eleven being exhibited at the Royal Academy, besides those, both in oil and water-colour, sold directly to purchasers, or stored in his private gallery.

Besides these Italian subjects he painted the famous "Ulysses Deriding Polyphemus." The lines underneath the picture, descriptive of its subject, were taken from Pope's *Odyssey*, book ix. —for Turner, after his one attempt to study Greek literature in the original, speedily fell back upon translation as the most effective means of getting an understanding of the subject he meant to place upon his canvas. It is a powerful and, if the term may be allowed, a very pictorial illustration of the classic story; the huge form of the Cyclops on the top of the stupendous cliff tearing his hair with one hand and stretching out the other, as though threatening vengeance, the remains of the fire pointing to the means Ulysses and his followers used to overcome the gross power of mere physical weight with wit, and the gorgeousness of the galley in which Ulysses is putting off with an air of triumph, all strongly illustrate the story. Throughout the picture is magnificent in colour,

and filled with the idea of a mighty purpose; though Thornbury, Turner's ardent admirer, says in respect of the scheme and the colouring and the idea, "that Turner, who would sometimes steal, got them from Michael Angelo's magnificent drawing of 'Morning'" This picture was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1829, and now forms part of the Turner Collection at the National Gallery.

His other classical subjects are "The Vision of Medea," exhibited the same year; "Apollo and Daphne," and "The Parting of Hero and Leander," both at the Royal Academy, 1837; and "Phryne going to the Public Bath as Venus," in 1838; all now making part of the collection. Ruskin has given so exhaustive and so admiring an exposition of the "Phryne" that it leaves nothing more to be discovered in it. He holds that in this picture Turner stands before us as a great public teacher —that by his representation of the subject he means to typify the Triumph of Guilt, and that in it he speaks his sympathy with human pain by the strong expression he gives to the incident of Demosthenes being taunted by Æschines, the son of Phryne. He adds also "that Turner never painted such a distance for infinity and completeness as this"; and he finds a special symbolism in the fact of the dogs in the foreground playing with crystal balls. The picture is

THE GOLDEN BOUGH

full of magnificent scenery, with a distance steeped in light, and with the imposing baths in mid-distance. The foreground is crowded with figures —with Phryne, as Venus, in her chariot—the figures have, however, much of the heaviness that characterises Turner's controlling idea of classic representation.

The remaining classical subjects are "Æneas relating his Story to Dido," and "The Departure of the Trojan Fleet," both exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1850—the last year of Turner's appearance on its walls.

"Lake Avernus: the Fates and the Golden Bough," the classical subject coming from Turner's brush belonging to the small but beautiful Vernon Collection, shows the lake in the centre of a lovely valley, and in the distance are faintly to be seen the Bay of Baiæ and Mount Vesuvius; the vale seems to be filled with golden light and the figures gracefully disposed; it was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1834.

Of Turner's great sea battle-pieces, the first exhibited at the British Institution in 1808 was the well-known "Death of Nelson," October the 21st, 1805, at the battle of Trafalgar, on board the *Victory*—a picture in which Turner is thought to have infused so much of his national pride; "The Battle of Trafalgar"—the sketch of the large picture at Greenwich Hospital; the four

Van Tromp pictures, of which so interesting an account is to be found in the *Magazine of Art,* 1899, in which some enlightenment is thrown upon the vexed question as to which of the four is now in the National Gallery—the conclusion arrived at being that the one in the Royal Holloway College is the last of the set produced in 1844.

"Peace: Burial at Sea of the Body of Sir David Wilkie" is one of the Turner pictures most repeatedly to be found in reproduction—its large masses of light and shade tending to produce admirable effect in black and white. This is the picture of which Turner is related to have exclaimed, in reply to some complaint of the darkness of its shadows, "that if he could have made them blacker still he would have done so, to testify to the depth of his grief," he having long ago forgiven Wilkie for having drawn the public attention away from himself at the time of the exhibition of "The Village Politicians." Underneath the picture were two lines from his own *Fallacies of Hope*—

> "The midnight torch gleamed o'er the steamer's side,
> And merit's corse was yielded to the tide."

They may be supposed to be descriptive both of the scene represented and of the high esteem in which he himself held the deceased painter. The picture is characterised by an air of solemnity. It was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1842,

THE OLD TEMERAIRE

the year after Wilkie's death; it attracted much public attention at the time, and was widely regarded as a tribute from Turner to Wilkie's genius; it is now a part of the National Gallery Collection.

Another sea-piece of that year's Exhibition was the "Snowstorm: Steamboat off a Harbour's Mouth making Signals." The painter was on board the *Ariel* off the coast of Harwich in this storm, and the picture is an impression of the actual circumstance. The vividness and actuality of Turner's sea-pieces, their exhibition of the knowledge of actual seamanship — witness the throwing of the rope, which so engages Ruskin's admiration in the drawing of "The Pilot Boat" —are all due to his personal observation of the matters he depicts.

But the picture in relation to the sea in which national sentiment is most profoundly expressed, is undoubtedly "The Fighting Temeraire tugged to her berth to be broken up." In this the poetic note may be strongly felt—pride, regret, and the sense of the evanescence of things, are all there in the delineation. The "*Old Temeraire,*" as it is usually called, named after a French ship taken at Lagos Bay in 1759, was the second ship in Lord Nelson's division at the Battle of Trafalgar, 1805, when the French *Fouquex* became her prize. She was sold out of the service in 1838. The picture

depicts the time of the fine old ship being towed to Rotherhithe, whither she was sent to be broken up. Turner has given the "*Old Temeraire*" in her last days a glorious sunset; in the painting, the use of warm and cold colours helps to heighten the expressiveness of the whole scheme—where the sun sinking, red mounts into yellow, and yellow into warm blue; in the opposite sky cold blue melts into grey where the moon is rising; and in the green water of the shaded part the reflections are brown; the water where the sunset touches it is intensely brilliant. The distance is full of a cool mist; it is crowded with shipping. From all this business of the great waters the great ship has come, towed by a little black, noisy steam-tug. There is in this almost a dramatic sense of the difference between the past and the present; the buoy in the foreground helps the idea of the distance with the shipping being far off. The whole effect of this painting produces the sense of a great harmony. Perhaps Turner sought to emphasise the idea of the day being over by the lines—

> "The flag which braved the battle and the breeze
> No longer owns her."

This is almost the last of Turner's great English pictures, a picture in which form and a leading idea make their influence felt as equally as colour. It marked, too, Turner's return to great things after

a decided falling off had more than once been manifested. This picture was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1839. It then aroused signal admiration, and this feeling for it on the part of his lovers and admirers remains the unfailing one.

In all his fine landscape work Turner's arrangements of colours are founded upon his close study of Nature—this study gave him a command of all her moods; he knew the reasons of her many aspects; and even when he heightened the effect of her colours, it was always within the key of which she had given him the leading note. But there are others in which he seems to be merely trying experiments in colour, and though the hand of the great artist may always be felt in their blending, for want of a controlling idea behind their effects, they offer but little satisfaction to the beholder. And even when these colour schemes do not breathe the spirit of capriciousness merely, still the greater number of his later works are held by his critics generally to be mere effects of light and colour. In "Queen Mab's Grotto" the combination of the many colours is almost magical. To this he appended two lines from his *Fallacies of Hope*—

> "Frisk it, frisk it, by the moonlight beam!
> Thy orgies, Mab, are manifold."

Quotations from the *Fallacies of Hope*, as appendages to his pictures, became very frequent

in Turner's later years, when he began to be under the apprehension that his pictures were not understood by the public, and that they needed the explanation of his own description in verse. His fears upon this head were not altogether groundless. His pictures had not always been easy to follow, by reason of his own interpretation of classical and historic incident; and the misunderstanding became more frequent as they lacked substantiality, and looked to the beholder like mere experiments in colour. But it is hardly to be supposed that anyone beyond Turner himself could hope to find out the meaning of the picture from the involved description of the poem. From 1812 to the end of his life he laboured at the *Fallacies of Hope,* which he believed was a sort of running commentary on his painting, and strange as the delusion may seem, he equally believed it to be a colossal work of art.

1830 is generally given as the date of Turner's second visit to Italy; and the first of the beautiful Venetian pictures appeared in 1832 as one of the chief results of this tour. Upon this visit Mr. H. A. Munro, whose name appears so frequently as a purchaser of Turner's pictures, and whose notable collection of works of art in Hamilton Place finds frequent press mention at the time of his residence there, accompanied the painter. Of this travelling arrangement it is not mentioned

whether he made the same stipulation with Mr. Munro as with his former touring companions, viz. that he should never sketch anything that he (Turner) himself drew. A stipulation enforced apparently from the idea that there would be some sense of rivalry even in the subject-matter of his pictures did he give any travelling companion the right to show as his work a scene that would become notable as bearing the imprint of Turner. But whether he made this condition or not, his unfortunate habit of meanness seems to have come out rather prominently in his dealings with this admiring friend and generous purchaser; he would seem also to have exhibited a good deal of gruffness of manner when things did not please him, so that the honour of travelling with genius must have become rather less than a gratification at times.

There is no detailed account of the extent of this tour, but in 1831 Turner was again in Scotland, having been engaged by Mr. G. Cadell to make twenty-four engravings for a new edition of Sir Walter Scott's works. It was at this time, while in Edinburgh, that he saw more of the society of literary men than at any other period of his life. He would seem to have been intensely interested in their characteristics and in their methods of work; although, with the exception of Rogers, whose *Italy* he illustrated in 1834, he does not

appear to have established a bond of friendship with any man of letters of marked distinction. In 1839 he illustrated Moore's *Epicurean*, but he does not appear to have had personal friendly intercourse with the Irish poet.

After this date Turner occasionally exhibited historic pictures; one of the most imposing being "The Opening of the Walhalla" in 1842. This was painted in honour of King Ludwig of Bavaria, and exhibited at the Royal Academy in the same year; but, on the whole, his subjects were chosen from scenes that afforded him most scope for the delights of colour and atmosphere.

In 1835 he painted "Line Fishing off Hastings," one of the beautiful paintings belonging to the Sheepshanks Bequest to the South Kensington Collection. Like all the other pictures of this division, it shows how completely the arrangement of his chords of colour had altered from those making the darkness and the strength of his earlier methods. In all these paintings may be seen a similar disposition of the masses of light. In the "Line Fishing" the whole of the central scene is immersed in the pale yellow atmosphere, the features of the place are idealised and magnified, but this light effect is balanced to the right by a breadth of grey-blue shade, which, like the upper part of the sky, is full of soft gradations. The notes of stronger colour in the boats

LINE FISHING OFF HASTINGS

VENICE

and other details help to keep the central diffusion of light in place, and the whole result is a harmony of glowing tints.

It was now his usual mode to paint upon a white ground for the sake of brilliancy of effect, and in this list of pictures the results of this mode are nowhere more observable than in the "Venice," for in this, the whole city—domes, towers, and walls—stretches glittering white. It shows in a blaze of light, between the blue of the upper sky and the myriad warm reflections of the foreground water, all caught from the colours of the many objects massed together at its edge. It is the most brilliant of the group, but with all its feast of colour it hardly gives the impression of the rich harmoniousness to be felt in "The Royal Yacht Squadron at Cowes," the largest of the group. In this the fundamental white is only expressed through the rich yellow and orange tones of the scheme. In treatment this picture makes for a fine effect of breadth in the wide pathway of water from foreground to the horizon, where all the yellow glory is continued in a higher key in the sky, from which it has been obtained. This glory of the great expanse of sky, the wide pathway of water repeating it, with the long bank of foliage on one side, and the yachts massed together on the other, embrace all the features of the picture. Balance is given by the golden-

brown tones of the sails on one side and those of the foliage on the other. The effect in this painting is the richer by the close relation of the colours of the scheme—the impression of warmth is unbroken throughout.

"A Ship in Distress off Yarmouth," another of the Bequest, has equally a broad expanse of light in sky and water, though in this subject the water is in a state of unrest; there is a broad belt of warm red beach in the right foreground, and in the left of the picture there is a mass of dark grey-blue shadow, against which the rocket from the ship makes a splash of light—it is a very beautiful and effective piece of colouring.

"St. Michael's Mount," a subject that appears earlier in the illustration of the Southern Coast Scenery, and the remaining picture of this group, is a marked instance of Turner's translation of strength from the influence both of form and of a leading idea in the composition to the intensity of expression to be found in light in its many degrees and variations. The Mount in the centre of the picture lies away in the pale yellow veil of light, which is continued upwards in the sky and forwards in the water; to the right it is balanced by a mass of warm grey-blue shade, and there are stronger notes of colour in the boat moving through this shade, and the tints of the group of children getting ready for bathing on the opposite

ST. MICHAEL'S MOUNT

VENICE: THE GRAND CANAL

foreground sand. The whole impression is very lovely. There are beautiful early engravings of all these pictures to be found in the collection of the Turner Gallery at South Kensington.

Of Turner's chief remaining pictures, from thence to the time of his death, the lovely Venetian subjects are those that most largely claim attention. Of the Venetian pictures, "Venice: the Grand Canal," painted for Mr. H. A. Munro, is in many respects the greatest. It gives full artistic satisfaction, as well from its sense of form, its strength and grace as a composition, as for the glory of its colour and the loveliness of its light. It gives, too, a fine idea of this pathway of the sea, of the constant procession of its life and movement, and of the marble palaces that come down to meet it. Full of imagination as it is in its treatment, still the actuality of Venice dominates the idea throughout.

"The Approach to Venice" is a dazzling vision of light and colour, in which sky and sea conjoin. It presents an almost unbroken sweep of water, lovely in its limpidity. It bears underneath it, in the earlier catalogue, the descriptive line from Rogers' *Italy*—

> "The path lies o'er the sea, invisible."

It was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1843. The same year saw "The *Sun of Venice* going to Sea." It is stronger in colour, more varied in its

tints, but filled with the same glowing warmth of tone. The foreground is occupied with the *Sol di Venezia*, the fishing-boat just putting out to sea. The following year saw "Venice Quay, with a View of the Ducal Palace," "Venice, Noon, from the Canal of St. Mark"; in the same year, "Venice, Sunset: a Fisher." In 1846, "Venice, Evening: Going to the Ball," and "Venice, Morning: Returning from the Ball"—this being the last of his representations of Venice. The last-named is a gorgeous piece of light and colour. Three of these later Venetian pictures, along with an earlier one from the Vernon Collection, with its greater solidity of colour and its exactness of form, are now grouped together in the Turner Room of the National Gallery; and placed as they are in close proximity to his earlier works, strikingly exemplify the transition of his methods from darkness to light.

In studying these later Venetian pictures, as well as some other of Turner's last years, one cannot help being impressed by the remark of Cosmo Monkhouse—"that as Turner grew older he robbed Nature of her darkness and Earth of her weight."

To the loveliness of these Venices of Turner, Constable has given his tribute in the words—"They are golden visions—only visions, but still one would like to live and die with such pictures."

APPROACH TO VENICE

CHAPTER XII

ASPECTS OF TURNER'S ART AND CHARACTER

Occasional exhibitions: Guildhall Galleries—Beauty of the water-colours: their arrangement—The charm of "York Minster"—Description of the pictures: some of Ruskin's opinions—The foreign subjects—"Barnes Terrace": differences of account—Pictures of Venice most nearly approach the spirit of Italy—Rogers' *Italy*—Accent of the French scenery—Turner's scope in water-colour—Oil-paintings: some pictures in private houses—Turner and Ruskin exhibits at the Fine Arts Gallery—Turner's secretiveness: means of obtaining effects—The *Fallacies of Hope:* Turner's utter want of language—Letters and friends: his affection for them—Wilson prepared the way for Turner—Thornbury's anecdotes.

APART from what may be called a secondary knowledge of Turner's work, to be gained both through the medium of engraving and the more modern process of photogravure, and the opportunities afforded of studying him in the original at the National Gallery at South Kensington, and at the Whitworth Institute, Manchester, the public has had, since his death, some two or three exhibitions in the form of loan collections, whereby they have been enabled to make acquaint-

ance with many of the notable paintings, both in oil and water-colour, stored in private houses.

The latest exhibition of the kind was that held in the Guildhall Galleries in 1899. To this collection Ruskin contributed nine of the pictures in his possession; Mr. G. E. Taylor, one of Turner's most devoted admirers, eight; and the trustees of the Whitworth Institute sent seven of their treasures.

This splendid exhibition was due to the art-enthusiasm of Mr. A. G. Temple, the Director of the Guildhall Galleries; who, with untiring labour, brought the pictures together, and supplied the public with valuable information in a specially written catalogue.

In this collection the water-colours outnumbered the oils, and were to many thousands of people a revelation of Turner's wonderful power in a medium they had not earlier been accustomed to think of, as that in which he had achieved much of his greatest work.

As the water-colours were arranged in chronological order, they afforded the public an opportunity of following the great landscape painter through all the changes and developments of his methods.

The first exhibits were those of "Westminster," "Clare Hall, Cambridge," and "A Landscape with Cottages," belonging to the year 1790, at the

time when he exhibited his first work at the Royal Academy; "Lambeth Palace," already noted in these pages; this was in the second year of his studentship, when, at the studio of Sir Joshua Reynolds, in Leicester Square, he was copying, or, at least, endeavouring to copy, some of the great portrait-painter's masterpieces; for among the many fortunate things that happened to Turner when he first turned his footsteps towards the realms of art, not the least amongst them was the interest felt in his earliest efforts by Sir Joshua Reynolds.

The next group in order belong to Turner's earliest architectural studies. The first, "The Dormitory and Transept of Fountains Abbey: Evening," exhibited at the Royal Academy, 1798; "St. Agatha's Abbey," lent by the Whitworth Institute with the noble "York Minster." The wonderful and impressive beauty of this building has been a source of inspiration to many landscape painters; for one reason, perhaps, that the view of its Gothic purity of form is unimpeded by the close proximity of other buildings, and the appeal it makes is therefore more instant and complete. Hamerton tells us that it was Turner's painting of the "Minster" that first awoke Etty's love for it, and that it remained to the end of his days an object of adoration. Turner's other architectural studies of the time

were represented in this collection by "Christ Church, Oxford, from the Fellows' Garden," and "Old Bridge at Shrewsbury." It also included one of his earliest waterpieces, "Coast Scene, with Fishing-boat," and one of his first studies in still life, "A Dead Black-cock." This had the interest attached to it of having been painted at Farnley Hall somewhere about 1807, and given there by Turner to Miss Fawkes, the daughter of his great friend and generous patron. From the date it may be surmised that it was painted at the time of his first visit to Mr. Fawkes.

"Bonneville, Savoy," relating to the time of Turner's first foreign travels, was lent by the Rev. Stopford Brooke. With this appeared the beautiful "London from the South," described earlier in this book, and now more widely known by its inclusion in Mr. F. Wedmore's finely illustrated and interesting volume, *Turner and Ruskin*. Next followed eight views of Scotland. These were painted for the illustration of the *Provincial Antiquities of Scotland*, published by Sir Walter Scott in 1826, and because they at one time hung in the breakfast-room at Abbotsford, are usually spoken of as the "Abbotsford Turners." They include Borthwick, Crighton, and Tantallon Castles; Hawthornden; Edinburgh—this the noted drawing from the Calton Hill, the High Street, and the Grassmarket of the beautiful and ancient city;

and Linlithgow Palace—all these drawings are held to be in Turner's finest manner.

The larger "Bonneville" in this collection is the one so highly eulogised by Ruskin for the grandeur of its manner. "Mountains," he asserts, "properly speaking, never had been drawn before at all, and will probably never be drawn so well again." Bonneville was a favourite study of Turner's; he painted it many times; but this fine painting is held to be his first great impression of the Alps. In connection with Turner's painting of foreign places, two interesting exhibits were "The Falls of Terni" and "Pont de Basel," both works of his later time, and both well known from Ruskin's notes. The former was his own possession. Of this he writes: "For pure painting of light and mist, I know nothing like it." He also records his delight that the public should agree with him in his estimate of this drawing, for, as he adds, "I had to give 500 guineas for it at Christie's and more, but I forget exactly how much." The "Pont de Basel" was exhibited at the Fine Art Society Exhibition, New Bond Street, in 1878. This, too, formerly belonged to the Ruskin Collection. Of the four subjects once included in Hakewell's *Picturesque Tour of Italy,* published in 1818, there were here exhibited "Rome," "The Lake of Nemi," and "The Bridge of Narni," all fully described

by Ruskin. But of the "Rome, from the Monte Mario," he writes in an ecstasy of praise. "This little drawing represents within its compass of six inches by five every principal building in Rome, so far as they could be seen from this point." The little "Venice: Autumn Evening," lent by the Rev. Stopford Brooke, was nothing more than an impression of the last flush of the sunset on the city. The "Norham Castle" exhibited in this collection was the original drawing; the one which appeared upon the Academy walls in 1798.

The three selections from the fine Richmondshire Series were "Ingleborough, from Hornby Castle," "The Crook of Lune," and "The Village of Heysham." Of the beauty of these drawings Ruskin has written in terms of the highest eulogy.

There were many from the England and Wales set, of which, perhaps, "Stonehenge," for the powerful painting of a thunderstorm, was the most impressive; although of the painting of the river in the "Llanthony Abbey" Ruskin writes of the presentation of its might and movement: "It is perhaps the most marvellous piece of execution and of grey colour existing, except, perhaps, the drawing 'Land's End.' Nothing else can be set beside it, even of Turner's own works, much less of any other man's." Of the "Land's End" he says: "It is this untraceable, unconnected, yet perpetual form, this fulness of character

absorbed in universal energy, which distinguish Nature and Turner from all other imitators." From this noble series were also shown the "Derwentwater"; "Knaresborough"; "Warwick Castle"; "Windsor Castle"; "The Chain Bridge over the Tees"; and "Cowes, Isle of Wight"—the last named being the one in which is expressed the most exquisite feeling of summer twilight calm.

The remaining pictures of this fine collection were nearly all foreign subjects. There was the beautiful "Florence," painted upon Turner's second visit to Italy; and the "Flüelen," with its wonderful sunlit sky and distance flooded with light; the "Lake of Zug," with its magnificent sunset; "The Righi at Sunrise," called "The Blue Righi," the picture which has the fine effect of the light in the boat still burning, to betoken that day has not yet reached the surface of the lake, although the sun's beams are touching the mountain's summit; "The Righi at Sunset," called "The Red Righi," from the sunset glow upon the sides of the mountain; "Goldaw"; "Oberwesel"; and the magnificent "Splugen Pass"—all of these stretching over some ten years of Turner's later time.

In the oil-painting section the same idea of progressive work had been carried out, the first picture on view being "Kilgarran Castle on the

Twyvey," painted in 1799; "Conway Castle"; two of the sea-pieces earliest exhibited at the Royal Academy; and the first also of his sacred pictures, "The Fifth Plague of Egypt." Amongst the landscapes were the "Sheerness," the beautiful "Somer Hill," the picture that breathes such an exquisite tranquillity; "Ivy Bridge, Devonshire," the oil painting of a subject of which Turner was extremely fond; the beautiful water-colour has already been described in its place, and also as it occurs amongst the Rivers of Devon; and the well-known "Barnes Terrace." This is the picture which has the black paper dog stuck upon the parapet. This dog has often been quoted as a proof of Turner's readiness to produce effect, and indifference to means. Nearly all Turner's historians relate that someone suggested to Turner that a black object on the parapet would increase the distance—that thereupon he cut out the dog in black paper, and stuck it on the wall, and that, satisfied with the result, there he let it remain. But this story has more lately been amended to the end that it was not Turner himself, but Lawrence, in Turner's absence, who tried the effect of the paper dog, and that Turner, when he saw it, was so satisfied with the result that, although he grumbled a little about the means, let it remain. In the catalogue of this exhibition, Landseer is quoted as the one who placed the dog

in the picture, but in other published accounts Lawrence is the painter credited with the deed.

Of the "Mercury and Argus," lent by Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal to this exhibition, Ruskin wrote, coupling with it the "Bay of Baiæ," that he felt on returning to them that he had never seen them before, "for their abundance is so deep and varied that the mind, according to its own temper at the time of seeing, perceives some new series of truths rendered in them, just as it would on revisiting a natural scene." One of the most beautiful of Turner's many Venices was also here—the "Guidecca, Santa Maria, della Salute, and San Giorgio Maggiore." This was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1841; it was formerly in Mr. Bicknell's famous collection, and now in the possession of Sir Donald Currie. Another was the "Marriage of the Adriatic," and a third, the "Campo Santo, Venice." This also was formerly in Mr. Bicknell's possession, and was painted for him.

In addition to the pictures, this collection included a fine set of the *Liber Studiorum*. This exhibition again awoke a keen interest in Turner's work, and helped to stimulate the sense of national pride in the painter who had manifested such wonderful power and variety, and who seemed to have possessed the gift of revealing every charm of English scenery.

In this connection it is of interest to recall that with all Turner's magnificent representation of its light and colour, Ruskin considers that the great master of landscape never really got into the spirit of Italy. This admission coming from Ruskin's pen has all the more significance of some lack of a compelling influence in Turner's representation of Italy. His Italian pictures may generally be said to command admiration as fine compositions chiefly, resplendent in colour, and marvellous for the effect they produce by the arrangement and distribution of their objects, but still without the appeal of that national note so distinctly felt in his representation of England. The lovely Venetian pictures—perhaps because Venice had laid its spell upon Turner—cannot, however, be included in this charge of lacking the spirit of the place, for they are full of the charm of that wonderful blending of mystery and intoxicating delight that seems to attach itself to Venice as its life-breath. And when Redford, speaking of Turner's "Campo Santo, Venice," says, "The 'Campo Santo, Venice,' with the white-winged felucca, moving like a phantom ship upon the clear, smooth, glistening sea, and the boats, with figures all touched in colour, so dazzling and yet so indefinite and indescribable, is altogether a most beautiful work," he expresses something of that almost indefinable spirit that belongs to every painting of Turner's that has Venice for its name.

VENICE FROM THE GUIDECCA

Closely approaching, however, to the country's expression, as it may be called, is Turner's illustration of Rogers' *Italy*. Though how much of this expression may have been caught as an inspiration from the poem itself it might be difficult to decide. Turner has somewhere expressed his indebtedness to Rogers' fine verse as affording subjects for his brush, and for the poet himself he had a very sincere admiration.

In considering France as the country whose spirit, after his own, he most closely assimilated, it is interesting to note that nearly all his representations of its scenery are in water-colour, whereas the majority of his Italian pictures are in oils. With the exception of the early "Calais Pier," and presumably his last French subject—for it was found in his house after his death—"The Vintage of Maçon," there are none of his known pictures of France in this medium; a fact, however, that leaves no room for regret, for in comparison with the oils, Turner's water-colours have wonderfully retained their brightness of tint and purity of tone.

In the Turner Collection just described there was only one example of the Rivers of France Series—"The Light-Towers of La Hève, Mouth of the Seine"—but it was notable for being full of the air of France. It is of interest to note that Leitch Richie, who accompanied Turner when

he was painting his Rivers of France Series, remarks—"I was curious in observing what he made of the objects he selected for his sketches, and was frequently surprised to find what a forcible idea he conveyed of a place with scarcely a single correct detail." To how many of Turner's finest English water-colours would not the same judgment apply? It would almost seem as though he found in water-colour a sort of potency of medium wherewith to translate the very being of the place he painted to the picture.

It can hardly be doubted that Turner's glorious achievements in water-colour have largely influenced the modern landscape painter in his choice of vehicle; to judge by present exhibitions, he is beginning to see that this medium affords him the very finest opportunities for producing purity of tone and exquisite atmospheric effects.

Although the Turner Exhibition at the Guildhall Galleries did so much to bring some of Turner's most notable and but little-known work to the view of the public, there were, of course, numbers of beautiful things in private houses that were not represented. There were none from the fine collection at Petworth Park, and but few from the once famous collection of Mr. H. A. J. Munro. The two masterly compositions—"Ancient Italy" and "Modern Italy"—which Mr. Munro is said to have purchased direct from Turner, are now

ANCIENT ITALY

MODERN ITALY

chiefly known in reproduction. They early lent themselves to engravers' purposes, from the fine effect produced by their masses of light and shade. On the first appearance of these pictures in either 1840 or 1841, they were specially engraved for presentation to his Royal Highness the Prince Consort by the National Art Union. A few copies of this engraving were issued to the public. Two of these early issues are in the possession of Mrs. J. Pinney Bear, of 28, Clanricarde Gardens, having been obtained by her family at the time of production. They exquisitely reproduce the softness of the light and the gradations of shade, for which the pictures were distinguished.

"The Junction of Thames and Medway"; "The Grand Canal, Venice," the first of a fine group, in Mr. Munro's possession; and "St. Mark's, Venice, by Moonlight," are all now in America.

Owing to the many recent sales of Turner's works, it is difficult to locate some of even his finer pictures, and in the case of the smaller ones, the difficulty is greatly increased, as many of the possessors of these gems are not publicly known. Mr. A. G. Temple has a quiet little water-piece, probably on the Thames, although it is not so named—one of those gentle grey pictures, with few objects, and with the sky suffused with light, and with all the feeling for atmosphere which so

specially distinguishes Turner's work. This, evidently, is before the time when colour and light became the dominant idea of the painter's mind.

Mr. J. E. Taylor's collection of fine and varied Turner drawings is still quoted as one of those remaining intact. He also has generously presented the Whitworth Institute, Manchester, with some of its Turner treasures.

Now that a knowledge of Turner's work is more widely distributed, and the value of anything that came from his hand fairly understood, it seems strange to think that picture-buyers should chance, now and again, upon smaller subjects from his brush and not know their value; yet such instances are not even yet of infrequent occurrence. It helps, perhaps, to explain the continual interest awakened in the public by any fresh information about either the subject or the treatment of any of his minor pictures.

It is always of interest to remember that at the Fine Arts Society's Exhibition of Turner's works Ruskin was there an exhibitor by the side of the master he adored. It is of interest because it emphasised the fact that Ruskin was himself an artist of acknowledged skill, and that his eloquent and elaborate interpretation of Turner's work may in part have sprung from the enthusiasm felt for a fellow-artist. Ruskin's delicacy in the matter of detail and careful finish was always

notable, as well as the precision of his drawing, but he does not appear at any time to have ever approached Turner's breadth and largeness of effect. Pictorially speaking, he seems to have seen all things, as Rosa Bonheur is quoted by Goodall to have said of him, "with the eye of a bird."

Ruskin is said by more than one of his critics to have been destitute of imagination, a charge that not all his exquisite word-painting in illustration of Turner's work quite disproves, although it exhibits him as an art-lover and enthusiast of the highest order. One of Turner's historians has even declared that Ruskin was blind "to the tricks of Turner." The expression, "tricks of Turner" may, perhaps, relate to his aptness in producing effect by any and every means that sprang to his notice, as in the instance of the "Barnes Terrace" picture; it may also apply to the secrecy he always maintained about his methods. He never would let anyone see him at work, and when out sketching with companions would generally contrive to remove himself to a distance when putting his colours in, so resolved was he to keep secret the methods by which he produced his striking effects. It is related that he once seriously quarrelled with Chantrey, whom he usually admitted to a close degree of friendship, because when once they were both staying at the same time at Petworth Park, Chantrey, whose

curiosity was piqued to find out why Turner always locked himself in his room when painting, imitated the Earl of Petworth's peculiar knock upon the door, to intimate who it was that desired entrance, and that Turner, deceived, unbarred the door, and thus disclosed to Chantrey's gaze his picture in a state of transition. From this anecdote it may be surmised that it was only a fellow-artist and his possible powers of imitation of whom Turner was afraid. The story, too, serves as another illustration of the many contradictions of Turner's nature—so great on one side, and so small and suspicious on the other.

As far, however, as his introduction of objects to enhance the beauty or the strength of his design, his methods were not infrequently legitimate enough, for he was only using all the means in his power to carry out the idea he had in his mind. Thus he made the foreground outlines as delicate as possible, from the belief that the more finely they were cut the richer the effect. He had a way of introducing a fragment of some sort, a broken column, or other object of the form he required, into his picture, although it did not necessarily belong to the subject; but this was in order to repeat the light and bright tints of the sky, and thus preserve the harmony between the upper and lower portion of his work. This distribution of light helped to carry out his idea of

unity of tone and of breadth, as he had then no tone without its support in the picture.

It seems strange that with all his consciousness of supremacy in the art of painting that he should be blind to the fact that he had no call whatever to the sister art of poetry; that he should labour incessantly in the belief that he was acquiring fame in this direction; that he should remain to the end of his life convinced that the jumble of sounds he produced was living verse, is but another proof of his mental want of balance in that he should so clearly see what made for greatness in the one art, and yet be completely oblivious to that which made for ridicule in the other.

The strange mixture of words which, under the title of the *Fallacies of Hope*, he was wont to append to his pictures on their exhibition at the Royal Academy, often seem as though they must have been composed under the influence of nightmare. They must have been very diverting to the public of Turner's day. For although they are not now attached to the frames of his paintings as they hang in the National Gallery, they are given in most of the Catalogues of the Gallery up to a comparatively recent date. Even Thornbury, Turner's unqualified defender, is quite alive to the shortcomings of the *Fallacies of Hope*. It has been remarked by Turner's historians that his paintings were not always easily under-

stood. But if "Snowstorm: Hannibal Crossing the Alps" did not, in the painted representation, explain its meaning to the beholder, it is difficult to see how he could have been helped to an understanding of it by the appended lines from the *Fallacies of Hope*—

> "Craft, treachery, and fraud—Salassian force
> Hung on the fainting rear; then plunder seized
> The victor and the captive—Saguntum's spoil
> Alike became their prey; still the chief advanced,
> Looked on the sun with hope—low, broad, and wan.
> While the fierce archer of the downward year
> Stains Italy's blanched barrier with storms.
> In vain each pass, ensanguined deep with dead,
> Or rocky fragments, wide destruction rolled."
>
> *Fallacies of Hope.*

This halting incoherence of words no doubt represented to Turner's own mind a companion picture to the painting, although the result to the reader is nothing but a hopeless confusion of ideas. Though even more curious in its contradictions is the explanation of "War: the Exile and the Rock Limpet," exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1842—

> "Ah! thy tent-formed shell is like
> A soldier's nightly bivouac, alone
> Amidst a sea of blood—
> But you can join your comrades."
>
> *Fallacies of Hope.*

This was one of the pictures of Turner's later time, and when the poem had grown to substantial dimensions.

A consideration of the *Fallacies of Hope* may explain Turner's unfitness for the part of teacher, other than in the broader understanding of the word, as an influence through the medium of painting. For although he held the office of Professor of Perspective to the Royal Academy, to which he had been elected in the year 1807, to the end of his life, it has been remarked of him in this capacity that owing to his utter want of language, and want, too, of manner, he taught nothing at all.

The want of language and the want of manner, combined, too, with the unfortunate lapses of his life at the time, may have been the chief reasons of his non-election as President of the Academy—an honour to which he had confidently, although blindly, looked forward. And when, on the death of Sir Martin Shee, in 1850, he found that the presidentship did not fall to him, he is related to have been quite out of heart with the Academy, and to have ceased exhibiting there; although curiosity, and the old fascination, drew him once more, and for the last time, as it proved, to the annual opening in the following May. It is quite possible that the soreness of spirit which beset him through the loss of the coveted honour had

something to do with the increase of intemperance which some of his biographers consider materially hastened his end.

There is room for wondering what kind of presidential address Turner would have given had he been elected to the head of the Academy; for, to judge by the evidences that remain, in the shape of letters to his numerous engravers, published in Messrs. Pye and Roget's volumes, as well as his remarkable correspondence with the Messrs. Cooke in relation to his illustrations for their books, Turner would appear to have been absolutely incapable of expressing himself intelligibly, much less grammatically, when speaking upon the subject of his own work. He does not appear to have at any time delivered himself upon the subject of art as a question; or, if so, his utterances remain unrecorded.

Turner would seem to have been a man utterly without culture in the accepted sense of the term; for although he read some of the poets, Milton, Thomson, Byron, and Rogers, with occasionally translations of the classics, he seems to have read them, so to speak, pictorially, for the sake of the pictures they brought to his mind's eye. Yet in the one great language with which Nature had endowed him—Painting—we find the things that belong to the spirit of culture, and this more particularly in his beautiful water-colours: insight

into meaning, refinement of idea and delicacy of sentiment, not only widely expressed, but expressed with all the assuredness of ease. It may therefore be surmised that much of Turner's uncultivated speech and manner was due to lack of educational advantages. With all his well-known admiration for certain painters, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Lawrence, Wilkie, and Girtin, amongst others, he does not appear to have been able to speak of their work critically; the only description of this nature with which he is associated is the term he applied to Girtin's work, "golden drawings." To the end of his life he used to speak of poor Tom and his "golden drawings."

Yet apart from his work, in expression of the more domestic side of his life, Turner has left many letters that are almost fluent, for they are full of the breath of kindness, of warm interest in the welfare and the doings of his friends, and a sort of quiet enjoyment of the little incidents of everyday life. Those to James Holworthy, a fellow-artist —a well-reputed member of the Old Water-Colour Society—are notable for these qualities. These letters were some little while ago published in the *Magazine of Art*, and are now in the possession of Mr. William Bemrose, of Derby. They extend over a period from about 1815 to 1830, and on the human side, they exhibit Turner in his best aspect.

Incidentally they illustrate Turner's affectionate consideration for his father's feelings, for from one of these letters it is to be gathered that much as he would have liked to have gone to Holworthy's house on a certain occasion, he will not do so because it is his father's birthday.

Turner's friendship, too, for the artist Wells has already been alluded to, and upon his death, in 1836, he would seem, from the interesting notes left by Mrs. Wheeler, Wells's daughter, to have been overcome with such violent grief that for many days it was impossible to comfort him. That he owed much to Wells in the way of care, advice, and actual shelter in his early years, may also be gathered from Mrs. Wheeler's narrative, as she relates that her father's house had been a refuge to Turner, at that time, from the domestic troubles of his own home.

After Holworthy's death in 1841 Turner had no intimate friend to turn to for sympathy, and with this loss he would seem to have drifted farther away from the habits of ordered life.

Harroway, his father's closest friend, the oyster-monger of Maiden Lane, who won Turner's affection in his childhood, had then long been dead; but as long as he remained the great painter loved nothing better than the cosy entertainment always ready for him in his old friend's parlour. It is somewhere related that after the early days in

Maiden Lane Harroway had a shop in the Broadway, Hammersmith; that this shop had a garden behind it, and that in the room overlooking the garden Turner painted the first portrait of himself, the one already described as coming into Ruskin's possession. Hammersmith was one of the places that had a strong attraction for Turner during a considerable portion of his life, possibly among other reasons, like Twickenham, on account of its close proximity to the Thames. Harroway also had a house and business-place at Bristol, and here Turner used to visit him; but whether this was after or at the same time as he had the shop in the Broadway does not appear. But wherever he was this old friend retained a proud interest in the genius whom he had known as a little child, and, like his own father, was always ambitious for his success.

It is of interest to consider how quickly and easily, both in the way of family and friendly help and encouragement, and by the interest taken in him, both by the great artist, Sir Joshua Reynolds, and by the great art enthusiast, Dr. Munro, the pathway to success in art was opened to Turner. He may be said to have entered the contest with the step of the conqueror, and to have gone on conquering to the end. In another aspect of the matter the path may be equally said to have been cleared for him in landscape by the work of

Richard Wilson, who only at quite the end of his life began to meet with the recognition his masterly work deserved. But the public mind had been turned to the possibilities of great things in landscape; and Turner coming so closely after him, and painting, in the first instance, under his influence, seemed in a sense to reap the harvest that Wilson had sown.

Thornbury, of all Turner's earlier biographers, is the one whose pages are most replete with anecdotes of his intercourse with his friends. To serious criticism of the great painter's work he contributes nothing at all, beyond a not very clear comparison between Turner's work and Girtin's, in which he says, "Girtin's sense of art began to lessen his desire for truth, while with Turner the same sense increased it." When delivering his opinion upon Turner's pictures Thornbury always quotes Ruskin, for whose views he expresses the profoundest admiration, although he does not forget to remind us, with a certain air of mischievous amusement, in reference to Turner's Jason, "That Turner drew the wonderful dragon which Ruskin goes into such raptures over from a stuffed one in a Christmas pantomime."

CHAPTER XIII

TURNER'S LAST DAYS

Closing scenes of Turner's life; his abode in Chelsea—Discovery by his old housekeeper—Turner's habits in his decline—The fascination of the Thames—The view of his house—Conditions of his will—Turner's personal appearance—His acquisition of money; peculiarities of his character—Fame at time of death—His rank; Ruskin's opinion—Some of Turner's limitations—Difficulty in accepting all Ruskin's views—"A Retrospect"—His comparison with Wagner—Turner, like Wagner, a new force.

A CONSIDERATION of the closing scenes of Turner's career cannot but induce the feeling of profound regret that genius so unmistakable and powers so varied should be overshadowed by causes that bespoke a decline upon the lower side of life.

The underlying coarseness of Turner's nature, which sometimes made itself felt in his work, and notably, as Mr. F. Wedmore tells us, "in certain destroyed drawings," would seem to have gained greater dominion over him as the powers of his mind sank.

These things, in Turner's case, are neither for jest nor cynicism, but rather for that pitifulness

which looks for the cause behind the fact. As it has been earlier remarked in this little book, one of the strongest characteristics of Turner's nature was its adhesiveness. In mental habitudes he had never moved away from that early life in Maiden Lane; and when he felt the shadow of the world falling upon him, disappointment and loneliness, and that sense of recoil from the struggle which seems ever to attend upon weakening of the will beset him, what more natural than that his thoughts should turn to the associations of the past, and that he should feel a keen desire to return to it, to end his days amidst surroundings that had something of the flavour of those he earliest knew. Some such feeling may have influenced him to desert his own house in Queen Anne Street and take up his secret abode in Chelsea.

The description of Turner's mode of life at this time is to be found in every account of him, and needs only, therefore, to be given in outline. The narrative of his residence in the domicile at Chelsea is given in detail in Thornbury's Life, and is set forth more briefly in Peter Cunningham's Memoir; and these two earliest histories would seem to have made a basis for all the rest.

For many years previous to his death Turner had practically deserted his house in Queen Anne Street, only returning thither at intervals for a

brief stay; the intervals, with time, became longer, and the visits shorter, until some months before his death, they ceased altogether. His old housekeeper, Mrs. Danby, who had been with him ever since he and his father had first begun to live together, after a long time of anxious search, obtained a clue, and following this up, she reached his actual dwelling-place, in Chelsea, now on the Embankment, close to Cheyne Row, in Cheyne Walk. Here, in the house still standing, and retaining, too, the little verandahed enclosure on the roof, as represented in the drawing, she found the great Turner living under the name of Mr. Booth, and there regarded by the neighbours as the husband of the house-mistress. But the discovery was made only a day before his death. He had for some days been suffering from a severe chill, and the symptoms becoming alarming, a doctor had been called in, who, at the time of Mrs. Danby's arrival, had given up all hope of his patient's recovery. And whether in the short interval between the meeting and his death he made confession to his trusty old housekeeper of the tenor of his life since he had deserted Queen Anne Street, or whether Mrs. Booth herself retailed the circumstances of his first appearance at her house at Chelsea has not been determined, but the matter soon became current history.

This spot, near the old Cremorne Pier, where

the house stands, had always had a strong attraction for Turner. It was here that he made his first Academy drawing of "Lambeth Palace"; this was the scene of his "Moonlight: Millbank," at the time of that of which Ruskin speaks "as the tragic passion of youth"; it was here that he seems to have chosen to die.

According to the recital, he happened to pass the house on one of his rambles round Chelsea when he saw the rooms to let, and at once made up his mind that the place would suit him; and after some bargaining with the landlady, a widow by the name of Booth, he said he would remain. When asked his name, he is reported to have in turn inquired for hers; upon receiving the answer replied, "Then I'll be Mr. Booth," and from that moment he retained the name until the day of his death; and none in the neighbourhood had the remotest idea the slovenly-looking man, who had all the appearance of a rough kind of retired sea-captain, had anything to do with the renowned Turner. He still made fugitive visits to his old artist-haunts, drawn thither when the feeling for art was uppermost in his mind, and upon these reappearances many were the clever devices of the younger members of the painting fraternity to entrap him into giving them a clue to his hiding-place; but even when under the influence of intemperance, and this habit had now obtained

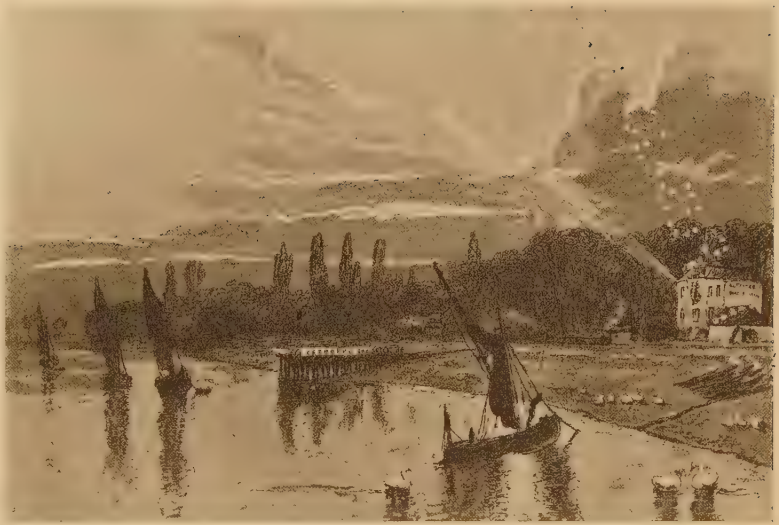
strong hold of him, his natural secretiveness and keenness in eluding inquiry always enabled him to outwit their curiosity. And when encountered by chance in any small public-house in the neighbourhood of his domicile by some former acquaintance, he would immediately leave the place, and not appear there again.

He appears to have been many years at Chelsea, for even at Margate, a place he frequented at intervals to the end of his life, he was known as Mr. Booth. Yet although he left this widow, Caroline S. Booth, the house, which he had purchased, in which he so strangely took up his residence, and a hundred a year for its maintenance, there is no evidence to prove that he had any kind of sentimental regard for her; in all probability force of habit would explain the interest he manifested in her welfare.

Some of Turner's biographers say that he had no ideal of womanhood, that his opinion of woman was a low one, and that when he sought relaxation in her society, he chose the lowest of her sex. This may have been so, yet behind all Turner's roughness and coarseness of speech and manner, there lived a very deep affectionateness which only wanted some human being very near to him on which to spend itself. This human being was found and lost in his early manhood at Margate. He then gave all the strength of his love to art.

Still the human want remained—in his better moments he satisfied it by giving of his best to his father and a few devoted friends with whom he could feel at ease; in his worse he threw himself madly upon the lower side of humanity, to take the grey flatness out of his life. Thus it may not seem an extravagance to say that the closing scene at Chelsea was, when we consider the mixture of his temperament, the undeniable coarseness of the physical, the extreme nervous sensibility of the artistic side, but the inevitable outcome of that death-blow to love dealt to him at Margate in his early manhood. It can hardly be doubted, when his unswerving faithfulness to early impressions is taken into account, that the guiding influence of a happy love would have had an elevating effect upon his work. This is not arguing for the moral strength of Turner's nature, but it argues for the greatness of his passion for art, that it so often gave him the victory over the claims of the lower side of life.

No doubt the old fascination of the Thames had also something to do with Turner's choice of lodging; for as in childhood the river delighted him, so to the last he loved to look upon it. The thought of it alone seemed to afford him calm and strength. For when the doctor pronounced his case hopeless, he received the news with trepidation and dismay. He had no religious



THE HOUSE WHERE TURNER DIED

beliefs to fall back upon for support at such a moment, no sustaining hope to go with him along the mysterious road on which he was setting out. But when his mind had become quieter, under the sense of the inevitableness of the decree, he asked that his couch might be wheeled to the window, that he might once more look upon the river. In this position he died, on a beautiful winter's evening, a week before Christmas Day, in 1851.

There is a certain fitness of idea in giving to the view of his last dwelling-place an effect similar to that frequently introduced into his own painting. The view presented is that taken from a sketch published soon after his death by David Bogue, then of 86, Fleet Street, in illustration of Peter Cunningham's Memoir. There is a hint of pathos in the stillness of the river, upon which the boats seem to be resting—the sun sinking, gilding the roof of the house, one ray falling across the window of his room as though to bid him adieu. The view shows a green slope from the front of his house to the edge of the river. To the right there is a little wooded expanse. Very different is all this from the present close rows of houses, while for the green slope there is the constant traffic of the road and the stone wall of the embankment. But the house itself remained untouched until about five years ago, when it was given over to the hands of the decorators, though even now the roof remains the same.

The artist who had earliest excited his admiration was Sir Joshua Reynolds, and his last request was that he should be buried beside him. In this his wish was carried out, and the two lie side by side in the Crypt of St. Paul's. He left a thousand pounds for his own monument; and the rest of his personal wealth, amounting to some sixty thousand pounds, to build an asylum at Twickenham for the benefit of poor and enfeebled artists; his pictures he bequeathed to the nation. The first part of the bequest was never carried out, for the will was disputed; but the pictures became the property of the nation in 1856 by an order of the Court of Chancery, though all engravings were, by the same order, given over to the next of kin.

Turner's demise was not unexpected; he had for some years been gradually breaking up. In 1851 he did not exhibit, and although he was present at the private view of the Academy, his enfeebled appearance attracted attention, and it was prophesied that he would not live to the end of the year.

Turner is frequently recorded to have told his friends that he was a much older man than was supposed, though Mr. Paul Nicholson Wornum, keeper and secretary of the National Gallery, remarks in his narrative that he thinks this idea of Turner's a mistake, since there used to exist a drawing printed in 1789, the property of Mr.

Dillon, bought at Lord Harewood's sale, "The Interior of Westminster Abbey," inscribed William Turner, *natus* 1775. Yet this hardly seems to be indisputable evidence, because the other William Turner was a member of the old Water-Colour Society at the same time as his great namesake, and might possibly have drawn the same subject. Mr. Wornum also records that Turner bequeathed fifty pounds a year to the Royal Academicians for a dinner on his birthday, the 23rd of April.

In his disused house in Queen Anne Street were found, after his death, some nineteen thousand drawings and sketches. His old housekeeper had lived there practically alone for many years, and the place had become so dirty, grimy, and dilapidated that people only knew that someone lived there because the policeman told them so; and when the executors of his will, amongst whom were Ruskin and his old friend at Twickenham, the Rev. Mr. Trimmer, took possession, it was found that many valuable drawings were completely ruined by damp, dirt, and decay.

In personal appearance Turner does not appear to have been attractive; whatever physical grace he may have possessed in early manhood had been quite lost by middle-age, and in later life the habits of intemperance, added to an accident to his ankle, which left him lame, made him altogether unprepossessing—mean-looking, slovenly

in dress, and unsteady in gait. His earlier biographers describe him as being short, stout, and black-haired, with a red face and covetous eyes. "Like a Dutch skipper," was Sir William Allan's phrase. Nearly all the sketches of Turner were taken by stealth. There is the one by Dance, for which he is said to have sat; the one in Hamerton's book by Sir T. Lawrence; there is the portrait by himself in the National Gallery, painted in early manhood; that in the National Portrait Gallery, painted by Charles Turner, the engraver; and the very earliest in the Ruskin Museum.

As Turner grew older his meanness took stronger hold of him; he was always saving and grasping, and even Thornbury, his great defender, admits that he did not disdain to sell inferior reproductions of his *Liber* as first states. There are many curious stories told of his evasions of payment of hotel bills and other incidental travelling expenses, and of the devices he resorted to to get back his cab fare when taking home a picture for which he was to receive a large sum. One of the most characteristic of these is that of his arrangement with a firm of publishers to illustrate a serial work for them—each engraving to be twenty-five pounds. After the bargain had been completed Turner went away apparently satisfied; a few minutes afterwards he put his

head in at the door and said "Guineas!" To this they agreed; but in another five minutes he was back again, and this time, putting head and shoulders in at the door, said more insistently, "And my expenses!" To this, too, the firm consented. Yet a third time Turner returned, and pushing himself right into the room, said in an eager, demanding tone, "And twenty artist's proofs!"

Thornbury speaks with a certain air of justification of Turner's somewhat peculiar ideas of honour and honesty when selling either his time or his work, as, for instance, when teaching, "that he was not going to sell guinea secrets for five shillings a lesson, so he let his pupils do as they pleased." Yet unless we bear in mind that Turner had no mere personal aim in all this keen acquisition of money, that he really intended it to benefit others less fortunate than himself, we should hardly be able to think with tolerance of such doubtful practices; for although he did not, even in the latter years of his life, after his fame had become assured, receive the prices for his pictures which have been paid for them since his death, he grew speedily and continuously rich by repeated issues of engravings.

The question asked at Turner's death, "Will his fame endure at its present height?" was then answered in the affirmative as far as the greater

number of his works are concerned. And now, after the lapse of half a century, it is still more emphatically answered so; for the enduring beauty of his water-colours is ever being accorded a wider and fuller appreciation; and although individual pictures amongst the oils still challenge opinion, the majority of those held to be great by the critics of his day have grown rather than lost in reputation since; and of those of which it was written at the time of their production "that it was necessary to have rings attached to them to show which side was to be hung uppermost," they are still regarded as the eccentricities of a great master in his period of decline. The increasing demand for his pictures, the very large sums now paid for them, and the activity of the interest displayed in art circles when any work of his is freshly exhibited, are all added testimonies to the continuance of his fame.

Of his rank it is less easy to speak. Ruskin says, "Of Turner's abounding variety, what general feeling, it may be asked, can pervade it all? This, the greatest of all feelings, an utter forgetfulness of self, a sympathy so abounding that I know nothing but Shakespeare comparable to it. A soldier resting by the wayside is not beneath it." This, it may be submitted, is only to say that Turner was before all things an artist—he saw instantly and absolutely in whatever met his eyes,

in either Nature or Life, what would best produce the effect he required. If the soldier resting by the wayside suggested such effect, Turner would concentrate all his artistic strength in making so lifelike a presentation of the subject that it should become a reality, he would forget self because the artist in him was for the time paramount; but this can hardly be called sympathy in the human sense, a going out of feeling to the object itself for its own sake.

Turner was of London, he knew the face of it by heart, he knew the beats of its pulse as though they were his own, yet he left no great picture of it—nothing that should symbolise its strange, shadowed, mighty, pathetic life; if he treated it at all, he treated it locally and distantly, as a scene full of sentiment as "London from the South," or full of interest as "London from Greenwich," not as something of tremendous meaning in itself.

There is no such feeling as that outlined by Elizabeth Barrett Browning when she feels its immensity of inspiration—

"But sit in London at the day's decline,
And view the city perish in the mist,
Like Pharaoh's armaments in the deep Red Sea—
The chariots, horsemen, footmen, all the host,
Sucked down, and choked to silence—then, surprised
By a sudden sense of vision and of tune,
You feel as conquerors, though you did not fight."

Had Turner been distinguished by that wide sense of sympathy with humanity that Ruskin claims for him, it might be thought that this subject could not have failed to have immensely appealed to him. Again, in dealing with his *Liber Studiorum* Ruskin insists that Turner felt only the sadness, the decay, the waste of human life, that he was impressed by its dreariness, its want; and if such a view of his work can be maintained, how can he be spoken of as comparable to Shakespeare, for whom it is so widely claimed

> "That he saw life steadily and saw it whole?"

In connection with this feeling of the difficulty of accepting all that Ruskin has written about Turner's pictures, none who have read Mrs. Russell Barrington's *A Retrospect* will fail to agree with her finding of the importance of the work he has given to the world, of which work Turner was largely the source of inspiration.

"Turner might be considered more in the light of the forerunner and the inspirer of the landscape painting of the Victorian era than precisely belonging to it. His work is, however, most closely linked with the art culture of the last forty years, owing to the fact that it inspired the writing of the greatest book having art for its text which has ever been written in England—Ruskin's *Modern Painters*, the classic of classics on landscape

painting. It is not as a critic that Ruskin deserves a place on the highest summit amongst writers on art; it is as an enthusiast. As Winckelmann was an enthusiast for the Hellenic feeling in art, so is Ruskin an enthusiast for Turner's feeling for Nature, that, like Nature itself, has stimulated Ruskin's genius for word-painting, and has given his writing a quality which, in its turn, has been ardently inspiring to many latent art-instincts, lighting the flame of enthusiasm within many a young student's heart, and resulting in the English school of landscape painting belonging to the Victorian era."

This apt and complete exposition by Mrs. Russell Barrington of Turner's influence on Ruskin leads again to the consideration of the greatness and breadth of Turner's power. When we think of the immensity of his work, and the life that he puts into it, we, in some measure, realise that he was a force—a force in the realm of painting as Wagner is held to be a force in the world of music. Perhaps, indeed, his position may be said to be somewhat analogous to that of Wagner, in that he instances a new departure; for he, too, in obedience to the power within him, broke away from the trammels of tradition, and found the means of free and independent expression.

CATALOGUE OF PICTURES PAINTED BY J. W. M. TURNER

PICTURES IN OILS

Painted in 1796.

Fishermen at Sea
Fishermen Going Ashore } First Sea Pieces.
Fishermen Becalmed

Exhibited at the Royal Academy.

1797.

Moonlight: a Study of Millbank . National Gallery.

Exhibited at the Royal Academy.

1798.

Buttermere Lake, with part of Cromac Water . . . . ,, ,,

Cumberland: a Shower . . ,, ,,

Exhibited at the Royal Academy.
With quotation from Thomson's *Seasons*.

Morning on Coniston Fells, Lancashire . . . . ,, ,,

Exhibited at the Royal Academy.
With quotation from *Paradise Lost*.

About 1798.

Landscape, with Cattle in Water . ,, ,,

1799.

Kilgarran Castle (1) . . . Private Collection.
Kilgarran Castle (2) . . . ,, ,,
Kilgarran Castle (3) . . . ,, ,,

Painted in 1800.

Æneas with Sibyl . . .	National Gallery.
Rizpah Watching the Bodies of Her Sons	,, ,,

Approximately 1800.

Mountain Scene, with a Castle on a Hill	,, ,,
View in Wales . . .	,, ,,

1802.

Mountainous Scene with Cattle .	Private Collection.
Dunstanborough Castle . .	,, ,,
Conway Castle . . .	,, ,,
Fishermen on a Lee Shore in Squally Weather	,, ,,
The Tenth Plague of Egypt . .	National Gallery.
Engraved for the *Liber Studiorum.*	
Jason in Search of the Golden Fleece	,, ,,
Engraved for the *Liber Studiorum.* Both exhibited at the Royal Academy.	

1803.

Calais Pier	,, ,,
Engraved by G. Cousen for the "Turner Gallery." Exhibited at the Royal Academy.	

1804.

Boats Carrying out Anchors and Cables to Dutch Men-of-War .	Private Collection.
Exhibited at the Royal Academy.	

1805.

Destruction of Sodom . . .	National Gallery.
The Shipwreck . . .	,, ,,
Engraved by Charles Turner, J. Burnet, T. Fielding, and by W. Miller for the "Turner Gallery."	

1806.

The Goddess of Discord—the Garden of the Hesperides . . .	,, ,,
Exhibited at the British Institution. With lines from Milton's *Comus.*	
The *Victory* returning from Trafalgar	Private Collection.
The Windmill and the Lock . .	,, ,,

Painted in 1807.

The Blacksmith's Shop . . .	National Gallery.
The Sun Rising in a Mist . .	,, ,,
Both Exhibited at the Royal Academy.	
The Trout Stream . . .	Private Collection.

1808.

The Nore	,, ,,
The Death of Nelson, October 21st, 1805	National Gallery.
Exhibited at the British Institution.	

1809.

Spithead	,, ,,
The Garreteer's Petition . .	,, ,,
Both exhibited at the Royal Academy.	
London from Greenwich . .	,, ,,
Engraved for the *Liber Studiorum*.	
St. Mawes, Falmouth . . .	,, ,,
Harvest Dinner, Kingston Bank .	,, ,,
Bligh Sand, Fishing Boats Trawling	,, ,,

1810.

Somer Hill	Private Collection.
The Wreck of the *Minotaur* . .	,, ,,
Exhibited at the Royal Academy.	

Between 1800–1810.

Scene in the Apennines . . .	,, ,,
Abingdon, Berkshire . . .	National Gallery.
Windsor	,, ,,

1811.

Apollo Killing the Python . .	,, ,,
Exhibited at the Royal Academy.	
Mercury and Herse . . .	Private Collection.
Exhibited at the Royal Academy.	

1812.

Snowstorm : Hannibal and His Army Crossing the Alps . . .	National Gallery.
Exhibited at the Royal Academy.	
Cottage Destroyed by an Avalanche	,, ,,
Ivy Bridge, Devonshire . .	Private Collection.

Painted in 1813.

A Frosty Morning: Sunrise . . National Gallery.
Exhibited at the Royal Academy.
With line from Thomson's *Seasons*.

The Deluge . . . . ,, ,,
Exhibited at the Royal Academy.
With lines from *Paradise Lost*.

1814.

Dido and Æneas leaving Carthage on the Morning of the Chase . ,, ,,
Exhibited at the Royal Academy.

Apuleia in Search of Apuleius . . ,, ,,
Exhibited at the British Institution.

1815.

Crossing the Brook . . . ,, ,,

Dido Building Carthage . . ,, ,,
Both exhibited at the Royal Academy.

1817.

The Decline of the Carthaginian Empire . . . . ,, ,,
Exhibited at the Royal Academy.

1818.

The Field of Waterloo . . . ,, ,,
Exhibited at the Royal Academy.
With quotation from Byron.

1819.

The Meuse: Orange Merchantman Going to Pieces on the Bar . . ,, ,,
Exhibited at the Royal Academy.

England: Richmond Hill on the Prince Regent's Birthday . . ,, ,,
Exhibited at the Royal Academy.

1820.

Rome from the Vatican . . . ,, ,,
Exhibited at the Royal Academy.

Rome: the Arch of Titus . . ,, ,,

1823.

The Bay of Baiæ, Apollo and the Sibyl . . . . ,, ,,
Exhibited at the Royal Academy.

Painted in 1828.

Carthage: Dido Directing the Equipment of the Fleet . . . National Gallery.
Exhibited at the Royal Academy.

Scene from Boccaccio . . . ,, ,,
Exhibited at the Royal Academy.

1829.

Ulysses Deriding Polyphemus . . ,, ,,

The Loretto Necklace . . . ,, ,,
Both exhibited at the Royal Academy.

1830.

Pilate Washing His Hands . . ,, ,,

View of Orvieto . . . ,, ,,
Both exhibited at the Royal Academy.

1831.

The Vision of Medea . . . ,, ,,
With lines from the *Fallacies of Hope.*

Watteau Painting . . . ,, ,,

Lord Percy under Allamder . . ,, ,,
All exhibited at the Royal Academy.

1832.

Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, Italy . ,, ,,
With lines from Byron.

Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego ,, ,,
Both exhibited at the Royal Academy.

1833.

Venice: The Doganæ, Campanile of San Marco . . . . ,, ,,
Exhibited at the Royal Academy.

1834.

Lake Avernus . . . . Vernon Collection.

The Fates and the Golden Bough . ,, ,,
Exhibited at the Royal Academy.

1835.

Heidelburg Castle in the Olden Time National Gallery.

1836.

Mercury and Argus . . . Private Collection.
Exhibited at the Royal Academy and at the British Institution.

Painted between 1835 and 1837.

Line Fishing off Hastings . .	S. Kensington Col.
The Royal Yacht Squadron at Cowes	,, ,,
A Ship in Distress off Yarmouth .	,, ,,
St. Michael's Mount . . .	,, ,,

Between 1835 and 1840.

The Beacon Light . . .	Private Collection.

1837.

Apollo and Daphne: the Vale of Tempe	National Gallery.
The Parting of Hero and Leander .	,, ,,

Both exhibited at the Royal Academy.

1838.

Phryne going to the Public Bath as Venus	,, ,,

Exhibited at the Royal Academy.

1839.

Agrippina Landing with the Ashes of Germanicus . . .	,, ,,
The "Fighting *Temeraire*" . .	,, ,,

Both exhibited at the Royal Academy.

Proserpine: the Plains of Enna .	Private Collection.

Exhibited at the Royal Academy under the title "Pluto Carrying off Proserpine."

1840.

Bacchus and Ariadne . . .	National Gallery.
The New Moon . . .	,, ,,
Venice: the Bridge of Sighs . .	,, ,,

All exhibited at the Royal Academy.

The Marriage of the Adriatic . .	Private Collection.
The Storm	,, ,,
The Day after the Storm . .	,, ,,
Off the Nore: Wind and Water .	,, ,,

Painted in 1841.

Rosenau, the Seat of H.R.H. Prince Consort, near Coburg . .	Private Collection.
Venice: the Guidecca, Santa Maria della Salute	,, ,,

Both exhibited at the Royal Academy.

1842.

Peace: Burial at Sea of the Body of Sir David Wilkie . . .	National Gallery.
War: the Exile and the Rock Limpet	,, ,,

Both with quotations from the *Fallacies of Hope*.

Snowstorm: Steamboat off a Harbour's Mouth . . .	National Gallery.

All exhibited at the Royal Academy.

1843.

Shade and Darkness: the Evening of the Deluge . . .	,, ,,
Light and Colour: the Morning after the Deluge . . .	,, ,,
The Opening of the Walhalla, 1842 .	,, ,,

With quotations from the *Fallacies of Hope*.

Approach to Venice, looking towards Fusina	,, ,,

With line from Rogers' *Italy*.

The *Sun of Venice* going to Sea .	,, ,,

All exhibited at the Royal Academy.

1844.

Fishing Boats bringing a Disabled Ship into Port Ruysdael . .	,, ,,
Rain, Steam, and Speed: the Great Western Railway . . .	,, ,,
Venice: the Canal of the Guidecca .	,, ,,
Venice Quay: the Ducal Palace	,, ,,

All exhibited at the Royal Academy.

Painted in 1845.

Venice: Noon, from the Canal of St. Mark	National Gallery.	
Venice: Sunset—a Fisher	,,	,,
Whalers	,,	,,
All exhibited at the Royal Academy.		

1846.

Venice: Evening—Going to the Ball	,,	,,
Venice: Morning—Returning from the Ball	,,	,,
Whalers	,,	,,
With line from Beale's *Voyage.*		
Whalers Entangled in Ice	,,	,,
Queen Mab's Grotto	,,	,,
With quotation from the *Fallacies of Hope.*		
Undine giving the Ring to Masaniello	,,	,,
The Angel Standing in the Sun	,,	,,
All exhibited at the Royal Academy.		

1847.

The Hero of a Hundred Fights	,,	,,
Exhibited at the Royal Academy.		

1849.

The Wreck Buoy	,,	,,
Exhibited at the Royal Academy.		

1850.

Æneas relating his Story to Dido	,,	,,
Mercury sent to admonish Æneas	,,	,,
With lines from the *Fallacies of Hope.*		
The Departure of the Trojan Fleet	,,	,,
With quotation from King's *Æneid*, bk. iv.		
The Visit to the Tomb	,,	,,
With quotation from the *Fallacies of Hope.*		
All exhibited at the Royal Academy.		

Undated, but supposed to be painted in 1851.

The Battle of Trafalgar	,,	,,
Sketch of the large picture at Greenwich.		
Richmond Bridge	,,	,,
Fire at Sea. Unfinished	,,	,,
Mountain Glen. Unfinished	,,	,,
Harvest Home. Unfinished	,,	,,

Both painted 1829.

Petworth Park. Unfinished . . National Gallery.
Chichester Canal. Unfinished . ,, ,,

All, with the exception of those noted Vernon Collection, forming the great Turner Collection, and bequeathed by Turner to the Nation.

In the painter's style of 1801.

Fishing Boats in a Stiff Breeze off the Coast . . . . National Gallery.

Bequeathed, 1870, by Mr. John Meason Parsons.

WATER COLOURS

EXTENDING OVER SIXTY YEARS, GIVEN AS NEARLY AS POSSIBLE IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

1787.

Folly Bridge . . . . National Gallery.

Earliest Turner known.

1790.

Lambeth Palace . . . ,, ,,
North-west View of Malmesbury Abbey ,, ,,
The Mewstone . . . ,, ,,
Tower of St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol ,, ,,
Malmesbury Abbey . . . ,, ,,
Leeds: Bolton Abbey . . . ,, ,,
Fire (Steam) Engine, Coalbrook Dale ,, ,,

All in pencil outline.

Westminster . . . . Whitworth Institute.
Clare Hall, Cambridge . . . Private Collection.
Landscape with Cottages . . ,, ,,

1792.

Kirkstall Abbey . . . National Gallery.

Painted in 1793.

View of the Interior of the Savoy Chapel	National Gallery.
View of Tivoli	,, ,,
Study of Shipping In light and shade.	,, ,,
Study of a Cottage	,, ,,
A Cottage Roof	,, ,,
Carisbrook Castle	,, ,,
An Interior	,, ,,
Dover Cliff and Shipping	Private Collection.
Coast Scene, with Fishing Boat	,, ,,
Magdalene College and Bridge, Oxford	Whitworth Institute.
Back of an Old Water-mill	,, ,,
Tintern Abbey	S. Kensington Col.
Malmesbury Abbey	,, ,,
A Waterfall	,, ,,

1794.

Salisbury Cathedral	,, ,,
The Lake of Brientz	,, ,,

1795.

Study near Grenoble In pencil and chalk on brown.	National Gallery.

1796.

Source of the Arveron	,, ,,

1797.

Lady Chapel, Salisbury Cathedral	Private Collection.
Kirkstall Abbey	,, ,,

1798.

Bath Abbey, West Front	,, ,,
Norham Castle, on the Tweed	,, ,,
Holy Island Cathedral	National Gallery.
Ely Cathedral	,, ,,

Painted about 1799.

View in Rouen . . .	National Gallery.
Studies on the Seine . . .	,, ,,
Study of a Teal Flying . .	,, ,,
Study of Sheep . . .	,, ,,

1800.

Cader Idris	Private Collection.

1802.

The Falls of the Clyde . . .	,, ,,

1804.

The Devil's Bridge . . .	,, ,,

From 1807 to 1820.

The Southern Coast Scenery—

Whitstable	Hythe
Poole	St. Michael's Mount
Weymouth	The Land's End
Bridport	Margate
Deal	Ramsgate
Dover	Portsmouth
Devonport	Folkestone
Mount Edgcumbe	

1808.

Ivy Bridge	National Gallery.
First Drawing.	

1809.

Bolton Abbey	Private Collection.

1810.

Scarborough	,, ,,

1805–10.

Snowdon	,, ,,

Painted in 1810.

London from the South . . .	Private Collection.
Bonneville, Savoy . . .	,, ,,

1811.

Chryses Worshipping the Sun . .	,, ,,

1816.

Swan's Nest, Stourbridge . .	,, ,,
Ingleborough, from Hornby Castle .	,, ,,

Engraved by C. Heath for the Richmondshire Series.

1818.

Rome, from the Monte Mario . .	Private Collection.

Engraved by J. Byrne.

Rome: the Forum Romanum . .	,, ,,

Engraved by Le Keux and Middiman.

The Bridge of Narni . . .	,, ,,

Engraved by Middiman.

The Lake of Narni . . .	,, ,,

Engraved by Middiman and Pye, for Hakewell's *Picturesque Tour of Italy.*

1819.

Bridge and Castle of Sant' Angelo .	National Gallery.
The Bilica of Constantine . .	,, ,,
The Church and Convent of the Quattro Coronali . . .	,, ,,
Rome, from the Barberini Villa .	,, ,,
The Coloseum . . .	,, ,,
The Claudian Aqueduct . . .	,, ,,

1820.

The Crook of Lune . . .	Private Collection.

Engraved by J. Archer for Richmondshire Series.

Painted from 1820 to about 1835.

Landscape, Moonlight . . .	National Gallery.
San Giorgio and Santa Maria della Salute, Venice . . .	,, ,,
Sunset, Lake Lucerne . . .	,, ,,
Moselle Bridge, Coblentz . .	,, ,,
The Lake of Annecy . . .	,, ,,
Fortress, Lausanne: Sunset . .	,, ,,
Buckingham Gate, Thames . .	,, ,,
Study of Masts and Rigging . .	,, ,,
Vignette of Mullet . . .	,, ,,
A Calm—a Breeze . . .	,, ,,

From about 1823 to 1827.

The Rivers of England and River Scenery (chiefly in National Gallery—

Totnes, on the Dart	The Humber
The Ruin of Kirkstall Abbey, on the River Aire	Rochester, on the Medway
Kirkstall Lock	Sandgate Creek
Norham Castle	Dartmouth Castle
Warkworth Castle	Arundel Castle, on the Arun
More Park, on the River Colne	Newcastle-on-Tyne
	Shields-on-Tyne

1825.

Whitehaven	Private Collection.

From about 1820 to 1830.

The Bridge over the Usk . .	S. Kensington Col.
A View of the Thames . . .	,, ,,
Loch Long	,, ,,
Hornby Castle . . .	,, ,,
Plymouth, from Mount Batten . .	,, ,,
Babylon	,, ,,

Painted from 1825–30.

Rivaulx Abbey . . . Private Collection.
Engraved by E. Goodall.

Cricceth Castle . . . ,, ,,
Engraved by S. Fisher.

Llanthony Abbey . . . ,, ,,
Engraved by G. T. Willmore.

Derwentwater . . . ,, ,,
Engraved by W. Radcliffe.

Warwick Castle . . . ,, ,,
Engraved by W. Wallace.

The Chain Bridge over the Tees . ,, ,,
Engraved by W. R. Smith.

Cowes, Isle of Wight . . . ,, ,,
Engraved by R. Wallis.

The Longships Lighthouse, Land's End . . . . ,, ,,
Engraved by W. R. Smith.
All for England and Wales Series.

1826.

Malmesbury Abbey . . . Private Collection.
Engraved by G. C. Varral for England and Wales Series.

1827.

Knaresborough . . . Private Collection.
Engraved by T. Jeavons. England and Wales Series.

1828.

Stonehenge . . . . Private Collection.
Engraved by R. Wallis. England and Wales Series.

1829.

Mount Vesuvius in Eruption . . Private Collection.
Engraved by Charles Turner in *Friendship's Offering*.

Venice . . . . Private Collection.

1830.

Italian Sketch . . . ,, ,,

Samur, on the Loire . . . ,, ,,
Engraved by R. Wallis for *The Keepsake*.

Painted in 1833.

The Light-Towers of La Hève, Mouth of the Seine . . . Private Collection.

Engraved by J. Cousen for the *Rivers of France.*

1835.

Jerusalem: the Pool of Bethesda . Private Collection.

Engraved by E. Finden for *Illustrations of the Bible.*

1836.

Windsor Castle . . . Private Collection.

Engraved by W. Miller. England and Wales Series.

A Swiss Pass: Storm Effect . . Private Collection.

1838.

Study of an Alpine Pass . . ,, ,,

The Lake and Town of Thun . . ,, ,,

1838–40.

Flüelen . . . . ,, ,,

1840.

Lake of Lucerne . . . ,, ,,

The Rhigi at Sunset, called the Red Rhigi . . . . ,, ,,

The Rhigi at Sunrise, called the Blue Rhigi . . . . ,, ,,

The Lake of Zug . . . ,, ,,

Oberwesel . . . . ,, ,,

Engraved by J. T. Willmore.

1842.

City and Lake of Constance . . ,, ,,

The Splugen Pass . . . ,, ,,

1843.

Goldau . . . . ,, ,,

Engraved by J. Cousen.

1844.

The Falls of Ternî . . . ,, ,,

Painted from 1835–45.

Pont de Basel . . . . Private Collection.

1845.

Lucerne . . . . . ,, ,,

"ABBOTSFORD TURNERS"

From about 1818 to 1825.

Borthwick Castle . . . Private Collection.
Engraved by H. le Quex.

High Street, Edinburgh . . ,, ,,
Engraved by Le Quex.

Crighton Castle . . . ,, ,,
Engraved by C. Cooke.

Grassmarket, Edinburgh . . ,, ,,
Engraved by H. le Quex.

Linlithgow Palace . . . ,, ,,
Engraved by Wallis.

Edinburgh . . . . ,, ,,
Engraved by C. Cooke.

Hawthornden . . . . ,, ,,

Tantallon Castle . . . ,, ,,
Engraved by E. Goodall.

All painted for *Provincial Antiquities of Scotland*, published by Sir Walter Scott in 1826.

From about 1840 to 1850.

Some in the National Gallery.

The Harbours of England—

Scarborough	Margate
Whitby	Portsmouth
Sheerness, seen from the Horn	Deal
	Dover
Ramsgate	Plymouth

Unfinished at Turner's death.

The *Liber Studiorum.* 100 drawings in sepia—
From 1807 to about 1821.

Fifty-one of the original drawings in the National Gallery; others in the South Kensington Collection; the Soane Museum, Lincoln's Inn Fields.

The Frontispiece
Engraved by Turner
Entrance to Calais Harbour
East Egremont
The Coast of Yorkshire
Junction of the Wye and the Severn
Engraved by Turner
Marine Subject
Calm
Engraved by Turner
Smugglers, Flint Castle
Mount St. Gothard
Basle
Inverary Pier, Loch Fyne: Morning
Engraved by Turner
The Straw Yard
Sea Piece: Ships in a Breeze
Hind Head Hill
Classical Composition
Windmill and Lock
The Guardship at the Nore
Little Devil's Bridge over the Russ, Switzerland
Laufenburg on the Rhine
Bonneville, Savoy
The Lake of Thun, Switzerland
The Alps, from Grenoble to Chamberi
Thun, Switzerland
Marine Dabblers
The Isis
Hindoo Ablutions
Scene in the Campagna; also called Woman at a Tank
Procris and Cephalis
Peat Bog, Scotland
Rizpah
Crypt of Kirkstall Abbey
Engraved by Turner
Solway Moss
Jason
Bridge with Goats
Pastoral
Hindoo Devotions
Solitude
Christ and the Woman of Samaria
Woman Playing Tambourine, Bridge in middle distance
Pastoral with Castle
The Tenth Plague of Egypt
Mill near the Grand Chartreuse
Inverary Castle
Norham Castle on the Tweed
Æsacus and Hesperie
Engraved by Turner
Ben Arthur, Scotland
Raglan Castle
Engraved by Turner

Engravings of the *Liber Studiorum* in National Gallery, British Museum, South Kensington Collection, Irish National Gallery, and many Private Collections—

Holy Island Cathedral
Rivaulx Abbey, Yorkshire
Morpeth
Dunstanborough Castle
Winchelsea
Martello Towers, Bexhill
East Gate, Winchelsea
St. Catherine's Hill, near Guildford
The Source of the Arveron, in the Valley of Chamouni, Savoy
Engraved by Turner
The Falls of the Clyde
Pembury Mill, Kent
Greenwich Hospital
Dunblane Abbey
The Watercress Gatherers
View near Blair Atholl
Young Anglers
Sketch for Sea Piece
Farmyard with Pigs
Juvenile Tricks
Hedging and Ditching
Bridge and Cows
Stackyard
The Clyde

Other engravers of the *Liber Studiorum* published plates are Charles Turner, W. Say, G. Clint, W. Annis, T. Lupton, and H. Dawe.

Unpublished plates of the *Liber Studiorum*—

From 1807 to 1822.

Temple of Ægina . . .	Private Collection.
Swiss Bridge, Mont St. Gothard; also called Via Mala . . .	,, ,,
Stork and Aqueduct . . .	,, ,,
Barges on the Medway at Chetman .	,, ,,
Moonlight	,, ,,

The original drawing in sepia of "unpublished plate," since engraved in mezzotint by Frank Short, and published.

PORTRAITS OF TURNER PAINTED BY HIMSELF

Painted about 1792.

First Portrait (painted when about 17)

Now in the Ruskin Museum.

About 1802.

Portrait of Himself when Young . National Gallery.

Evening dress, bust, life-size.

OTHER PORTRAITS OF TURNER

1800.

Portrait of J. M. W. Turner, R.A.

By George Dance, R.A., said to be the only portrait Turner ever sat for.

Portrait of J. M. W. Turner, R.A.

From a drawing made surreptitiously by J. T. Smith, in the Print Room of the British Museum.

Portait of J. M. W. Turner, R.A.

By Charles Turner, in the National Portrait Gallery.

1850.

Portrait of J. M. W. Turner, R.A.

Taken a year before his death, by John Philip, R.A.

OTHER WORKS AND SERIES ILLUSTRATED BY TURNER

1793.

The Copperplate Magazine.

1795.

The Copperplate, and other magazines.

About 1797.

Dr. Whitaker's *Parish of Whalley.*

Painted in 1820.

The Rivers of France . . . National Gallery.

Thirty-three drawings in body colour on blue.

The Picturesque Tour of Italy . . ,, ,,

1823.

Dr. Whitaker's *History of Richmondshire* ,, ,,

Twenty-two drawings.

1826.

Some in Private Collections.

Provincial Antiquities and Picturesque Scenery in Scotland.

Twelve drawings.

The Ports of England.

Six drawings.

From 1827 to 1838.

Chiefly in Private Collections.

England and Wales.

Ninety-three drawings and six vignettes.

From 1825 to 1833.

Life and Works of Lord Byron.

Thirty-three drawings.

1828 to 1837.

The Keepsake.

Fourteen drawings.

1829.

Finden's *Illustrations of the Bible.*

Twenty-six drawings.

1830.

Rogers' *Italy.*

Twenty-five drawings.

From 1833 to 1845.

The Rivers of France, also called *Wanderings by the Loire* . . Private Collection.

Sixty-one drawings in all.

From 1833 to 1845.

Works of Sir Walter Scott, Prose and Poetical	Private Collection.	
Sixty-four drawings.		
Rogers' Works, Poetry . . .	,,	,,
Thirty-three drawings.		
Milton's Works, Poetry . .	,,	,,
Seven drawings.		
Moore's Works, Poetry . . .	,,	,,
Campbell's Works, Poetry . .	,,	,,
Twenty drawings.		
Views in Sussex . . .	,,	,,
Eight drawings.		
Views in India . . .	,,	,,
Seven drawings.		

SKETCHES AND STUDIES OF TURNER'S MIDDLE AND LATER PERIOD

Pencil Outlines—

A Group of Landscapes . .	National Gallery.	
Villeneuve: Gallery on the Splügen .	,,	,,
Sketches of the East Coast of England	,,	,,
The Lake of Geneva . . .	,,	,,
The Rhine and the Lago Maggiore .	,,	,,
The Rhine and the Meuse . .	,,	,,
Naples	,,	,,
Dresden	,,	,,
Venice	,,	,,
Carew Castle, Lancaster . .	,,	,,
Sketches at and near York . .	,,	,,
Cologne Cathedral . . .	,,	,,
Caernarvon Castle . . .	,,	,,
Fribourg	,,	,,
Bridges	,,	,,

In Pen and Ink—

Evreux Market Place	National Gallery.	
Marly, near St. Germain	,,	,,
Four Sketches: Calais	,,	,,
Studies of Poultry	,,	,,
Calm—a Breeze	,,	,,

Body Colour on Blue—

Three Marine Sketches	,,	,,
Four Sketches of Rivers of France	,,	,,
Three Sketches of Rooms at Petworth	,,	,,
French Dance in Sabots	,,	,,
Sunset Studies at Petworth	,,	,,
Sunset Studies	,,	,,
Orleans and Nantes	,,	,,
The Loire: the Carrara Mountains	,,	,,
Nantes	,,	,,
Studies of a Ship on Fire (on brown)	,,	,,
The Rhine (on brown)	,,	,,
Battle of Fort Rock, Vald' Aosta	,,	,,

Exhibited in 1815; Turner's largest water-colour, originally in the Turner Collection.

Latest additions to Turner's Works given to the public: Twenty-three of the original drawings in sepia made for the *Liber Studiorum*, since published and bequeathed to the National Collection by Mr. Henry Vaughan. The drawings in most instances have been engraved by Mr. Frank Short. Amongst them are—

Ploughing at Eton	Derwentwater
Bank of the Thames, Kingston	Twickenham.
Maçon	

All Water-colours by Turner in the National Gallery, and Pencil, Pen and Ink, and Chalk drawings, are in the Water-colour Turner Rooms.

BOOKS RELATING TO TURNER

"Life of Turner," by Walter Thornbury (*Quarterly Review*, April, 1862).

Life of J. M. W. Turner, by Philip Gilbert Hamerton. London, 1877.

"Life of Turner," by Hamerton, in the *Edinburgh Review*.

Turner and his Works, by J. Burnet, 1852.

Turner, the Dream-Painter, by C. H. Hart.

Turner and Mulready, by R. Siebrich.

Turner, by Cosmo Monkhouse, 1870.

Life and Works of J. M. W. Turner, by C. A. Swinburne.

Turner, by R. Chignell.

Life of Turner, by Sir W. Armstrong.

"The Fame of Turner," by W. Armstrong (*National Review*, 1880).

The Works of Turner, by J. Dafforne.

Turner's Celebrated Landscapes, by Cosmo Monkhouse.

Memoir. A descriptive letterpress.

Turner's Liber Studiorum, by Rev. Stopford Brooke.

Turner's Liber Studiorum, by G. W. Rawlinson. Description and catalogue. London, 1878.

Turner's Liber Fluviorum, France, by Leitch Ritchie and Alaric Watts.

Turner and Girtin's Picturesque Views Sixty Years Since, by T. Miller.

Turner's Annual Tour, Wanderings by the Loire, by L. Ritchie.

Turner's Last Swiss Drawings, by E. Dillon.

Deux heures à la Turner Gallery, by R. de la Sizeranne.

Turner Prints, by F. Wedmore.

The Turner Gallery, by Ralph N. Wornum.

Turner's Liber Studiorum. Facsimile of eighty-three etchings by Turner, from plates reproduced from copies in the possession of R. and C. Elliot Norton. Cambridge, 1879.

The Turner Gallery, with a Catalogue of the Vernon Collection of Paintings and Sculptures on view at Marlborough House. Fine Art pamphlets at South Kensington.

Turner's Liber Studiorum. South Kensington, Drawing-book, with history and introduction, by F. Wedmore, and notes by Frank Short.

Turner's Harbours of England. Description by Ruskin.

Turner's Picturesque Views of England and Wales, by H. E. Lloyd. Descriptive and historic.

Turner's Richmondshire. Description by Thomas Dunham Whitaker.

Turner's River Scenery, by W. B. Cooke.

Turner's Liber Studiorum. Catalogue of the Plates, with introduction and notes. Cambridge, 1874.

Turner's Liber Studiorum. Catalogue of an Exhibition at the Grolier Club, Madison Avenue, New York.

Ruskin upon Turner in *Modern Painters.*

Turner and Ruskin, by F. Wedmore.

Notes on his Turner Drawings, by J. Ruskin.

Notes on the Turner Drawings at the Winter Exhibition of the Royal Academy, 1887, by G. W. Rawlinson.

Catalogue of the Royal Academy, 1857, with original descriptions and quotations of his pictures by Turner.

ARTICLES ON TURNER APPEAR IN

Nineteenth Century, March, 1886.
Landscape Lyrics, by W. Anderson.
Europe Illustrated, by John Sherer.
Artists' Biographies, by M. F. Sweetser.
Catalogue of his Books, by H. C. Wigg.
Rivers of England, by Cosmo Monkhouse.
The Earlier English Water-Colour Painters, by Cosmo Monkhouse.
Descriptive Catalogue of the Guildhall Exhibition, 1899.
Review and Publications of Art, G. Landseer.
An Artist's Christmas Gifts to Young England, J. Morpeth.
English Landscape Painters, L. Ritchie.
Past Celebrities, C. Redford.
"Early Days of an Artist," *The Month*, February, 1866.
"The Genius of Turner," *The Studio*, December, 1903.

REFERENCES TO TURNER OCCUR IN

Hakewell's *Picturesque Tour in Italy.*
Lawson's *Scotland Delineated.*
Tillotson's *Album of Scottish Scenery.*
English Painters of the Georgian Era.
Nature, August, 1902.

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W. Brendon and Son, Printers, Plymouth.